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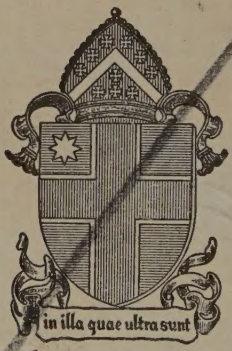

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THE CURE OF SOULS

LECTURES ON PASTORAL THEOLOGY
DELIVERED IN THE LENT TERM 1908
IN THE DIVINITY SCHOOL CAMBRIDGE
AND OTHER ADDRESSES

BY

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TO THE DELEGATES
TO THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONGRESS
THESE LECTURES
ON A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE
OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH
ARE DEDICATED

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I

THE CURE OF SOULS

1. PASTORAL RESPONSIBILITY IN SCRIPTURE.

Our Lord entrusted a double duty to the Church when she entered on the task of carrying on His work in the world. There was on the one hand, need for expansion,—the proclaiming His Gospel to all mankind. It is on this missionary function that the Synoptic Gospels lay stress; *Go ye therefore and teach all nations*[1], is the charge to the Apostles. This is an enlargement of the commission that had been given to the Twelve at the beginning of His ministry[2]; the message with which they were now sent was fuller than that which the Seventy had proclaimed[3], but they were still to be engaged in evangelistic work. The teaching of these three Gospels is in close accord with this view of the main duty of the Church. In such parables as that of the Sower, or the Tares, or

[1] S. Matt. xxviii. 19; S. Mark xvi. 15; S. Luke xxiv. 47; also Harnack, *Expansion*, I. 45.

[2] S. Matt. x. 5, 7. [3] S. Luke x. 9.

the Grain of Mustard Seed, the idea of the extension of the Kingdom is kept in the forefront.

But in the Fourth Gospel, this is no longer the case; the idea of evangelisation has fallen into the background, and stress is laid on the need of effort to deepen the spiritual life of those who had accepted the Gospel message. The three-fold charge to S. Peter, *Feed my lambs*, *Feed my sheep*, *Feed my sheep*[1], accentuates the duty of pastoral, rather than evangelistic work. We may notice too, that the parables which tell of the close dependence of the branches on the Vine, and of the care of the Good Shepherd for each of His sheep, individually and personally, make us feel that there is less thought here for the diffusion of the Gospel message, and more for the intensity and vigour of Christian life in every one of those who have accepted the Lord as their Redeemer.

I.

Evangelistic and Pastoral work can thus be distinguished; but we may yet recognise that it is impossible to separate them completely, and that it would be idle to contrast them with one another. Both are needed: but, according to changing circumstances, one or the other may be specially accentuated. In the earliest days of all, the church at Jerusalem seems to have had a unique position as the only organised centre of Christian life. Even here, however, we hear little of the inner life of the community

[1] S. John xxi. 15—17.

after the first persecution; the great interest about the church at Jerusalem was due to its being the nucleus from which evangelisation proceeded. The main work of the Apostles and Evangelists, as we read of it in the *Acts*, was that of preaching the Gospel to the Jews of the Dispersion, and to the Gentiles; but in so far as these efforts were successful, and churches were planted in many cities, the difficulties and responsibilities of pastoral work became more generally apparent. The inner life of the Christian communities and their members, called forth one after another of the Epistles of S. Paul; he was the greatest of the pioneers of the Christian faith, *not building on another man's foundation but striving to preach the gospel where Christ was not named*[1]: and he was also oppressed with anxiety, not only for his own spiritual children, whom he had *begotten through the gospel*[2], but for the Laodiceans and others who had not *seen his face in the flesh*[3]. He magnifies his office, both in its missionary and in its pastoral aspects; the gospel he preached had been given him as a direct communication from God[4], and for his charge over the churches he was responsible, not to any human judgment, but to God Himself[5]. His Pastoral Epistles show how fully he recognised the importance of this side of Christian activity, as also did the other apostles. S. John was earnest in

[1] Romans xv. 20.
[2] 1 Cor. iv. 15.
[3] Col. ii. 1.
[4] Gal. i. 11, 12.
[5] 1 Cor. iv. 1—4.

exhorting his little children; and S. Peter writes to the elders of the churches in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, *Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away*[1].

As the Apostles passed away, and the several churches came to be locally organised, the missionary function of the church dropped more out of sight; while the importance of pastoral care, in dealing with individual members of the flock, was increasingly felt. The favourite metaphors in the sub-apostolical writings, with regard to Christ and His Church, are closely related to this habit of mind. The careful preparation of each separate stone for its place in the Temple of God is insisted upon[2]. Hope of progress on the part of each, and a sense of the duty of mutual helpfulness, are implied in the language in which Christians described themselves as pilgrims and sojourners[3]; each was to be encouraged not to rest satisfied with the avoidance of evil, but to aim at doing what he could[4]. Much too of the favourite phraseology in regard to our Lord represents Him as thinking of, and attending to, the needs of each. He is the

[1] 1 Peter v. 2, 3, 4.
[2] *Epist. Barnabae*, c. 16; Hermas, *Pastor*, *Vis.* III. cc. 5, 6.
[3] *Epist. ad Diognetum*, c. 5.
[4] Harnack, *Expansion*, I. 271; *Didache*, c. 6.

Healer of spiritual diseases[1]; and above all He is the Good Shepherd who watches over His sheep. And in this connection we may notice that the special responsibility on the part of Christian ministers was recognised at least in some centres[2]. However much the diffused duty of mutual helpfulness may have been realised in these earlier communities[3], it does not appear that there ever was a period when the fostering of Christian life was left entirely to the mutual good offices of all the brethren, and when there were no individuals who were recognised as charged with special responsibility. The favourite thoughts of Christ were sooner or later transferred to those through whose hands and voices His work was being done; they too are to administer medicine to the soul[4]. The words ποιμήν and ποιμαίνειν, as applied in the *Epistles* and *Acts* to the office and work of a Christian minister[5], are associated with the thought of Christ as the Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

II.

The pastoral aspect of the Christian ministry, as concerned with the spiritual progress of every member of the Church[6], severally and individually, is clearly marked in the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages. We must not think of the function of the

[1] Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* c. 7.

[2] Ignatius, *ad Roman.* c. 9; *ad Polycarp.*, inscrip. *ad Magnes.* c. 3.

[3] Clement, *ad Corinth.* c. 2; Jude 20—23.

[4] Ignatius, *ad Polycarp.* c. 2; Jerome, *Epist.* 52, *ad Nepotianum* (Migne XXII. 539).

[5] Acts xx. 28; 1 Peter v. 2, 4; Heb. xiii. 20.

[6] Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* 6.

Church as merely that of evangelising the world, and proclaiming a new religious doctrine, it was also that of caring for and fostering spiritual life. It is important to lay stress on this point, because there is a great deal of current opinion, in regard to the early Church, which involves some misapprehension. There are many writers who give us to understand that in the earliest days the Church had attained an intense spirituality; that its members lived personally in direct communion with God, receiving inspired messages, from time to time, from the lips of prophets; with an eager expectation of the speedy return of the Lord, so that things secular were to them things indifferent, and that they could be in contact with, but uncontaminated by, the present evil world. From this point of view it seems that every step by which the life of the Church became intertwined with things of this life was a falling away from original purity and a secularising of that which had been wholly divine in its first days. In so far as devotion became habitual and embodied in formularies, it is represented as having lost the spiritual characteristic of spontaneity; the regular arrangements which were made with regard to the conduct of services and the payment of the clergy, can be regarded as marking a decay of zeal. Wherever there is any sign of standing upon rights, or enforcing a claim, it is argued that here at least there is something which is plainly inconsistent with the Christianity of Christ. As Sohm puts it[1], "Church Law is in contradiction

[1] R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, 1.

with the essential characteristics of the Church." By many the period of marked declension would be fixed by the establishment of the peace of the Church by Constantine[1], while others point to the earlier time when property was first acquired[2] or find traces of falling away immediately after the Apostolic age[3].

These arbitrary datings show that there is at all events a considerable degree of uncertainty as to the progress of declension; they almost force us to raise the question whether the picture of a perfectly spiritual Church is not a mere fancy picture that never had any actuality. The various disorders, which gave occasion to S. Paul's Epistles, must be taken into account, before we speak of declension; there was good and evil in the Church of the First Days, as well as in the Church of the Twentieth Century. But not only does the current view appear to involve a one-sided interpretation of the recorded facts in Apostolic times, it implies a false contrast between the secular and the spiritual. The spiritual is not that which is apart from the secular altogether[4], but something which can transfuse and consecrate the secular so that it shall make for a supernatural and eternal aim. It is thus that friends may be made of the Mammon of Unrighteousness; the secular, like the physical, is not in itself evil; the human body was consecrated at the Incarnation; human institutions may be consecrated by the word of God and prayer. The more

1 Dollinger, *Fables respecting the Popes*, 165.
2 Stutz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens*, 2.
3 Sohm, *op. cit.* 179.
4 See below, pp. 54, 80.

the grain of mustard seed flourishes, the firmer is its hold upon things of earth; the more the Church of God expands, the more intricate must be its relations with the kingdoms of this world, so that these may be at length transformed into the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.

The private communing of the soul with God—like that of our Lord before He chose the twelve—is not the only form which spirituality of mind may take; Christ's Church, at all events, is essentially social. It is where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name that He promises His presence; mutual offices, and organised life in which individuality is subordinated to the common needs, are enjoined on the brethren by S. Paul. The very nature of the duties insisted upon shows that the Church is concerned with what is mundane,—not only in contact with it, but penetrating and permeating it. In the stress and strain of life, as well as in moments of wrapt contemplation, there may be the highest spiritual triumph. S. Paul was spiritually minded when he was caught up into the third heaven and heard unspeakable words, but he was not less spiritually minded when he accepted the thorn in the flesh and found that God's grace was sufficient for him and His strength made perfect in weakness. The delivering of those who are oppressed by the devil was the work of Christ, and it is the work of His Church; and it involves not merely the declaring of a gospel, but the fostering of a life,—the forming of characters after the likeness of Christ,—the cure of souls.

III.

This pastoral function of the Church is in closest accord with the new truth which Christ revealed to mankind about God. The very essence of His teaching is the Fatherhood of God; that the Eternal Reason which rules the Universe, concerns Himself with the very sparrows: that every human life is thought of and cared for, severally and individually, by the Great God. And to the Church He founded is committed the duty of bringing home this truth to the minds of men, severally and individually; not only by her doctrine declaring the love of God, but by her sacraments, sealing that love to every member who is received in Baptism to be God's child; who is strengthened by God's Spirit more and more from Confirmation, and sustained by partaking of the Holy Communion. In the Christian ministry, pastoral care is provided for each; not that the troubles of life may be wholly set aside, but that through these troubles the spiritual character may be formed more and more. We know that through the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God to mankind was set forth, and that He sees of the travail of His soul and is satisfied; and all may find perfect peace who learn to consecrate their lives, and to seek to be the means by which God's Glory is set forth, whether in their activities or through their patience. As we read the Epistles of S. James or S. Peter or S. Paul, we feel how they were striving to help their readers to attain this sense of reconciliation, when all the

sting and irritation was alleviated, because the sufferers had come to learn that God was somehow accomplishing His purpose in them and through them, and that the resemblance to their Master was being more deeply imprinted in their inner nature.

The method by which this forming of men after the mind and character of Christ, this cure of souls, this fostering of spiritual life, might be carried on, as understood in the first days and set before us in the Epistles, may I think be described as sympathy. But here we must distinguish. There is the foolish sympathy of those who cannot look beyond actual physical suffering; who may exaggerate the sense of wrong, and make the sufferer more self-pitying, more self-centred, more egoistic, more hysterical than before; there is no healing in that. And there is the ignorant sympathy of the dumb animal or little child, that knows not how to comfort aright, but would give comfort if it could; that will at least distract from the sorrow, since it turns the thoughts away from self to someone who cares. And there is the manly sympathy of those who have known trouble themselves, and faced it, and lived it down; and can give courage to others, because they have been through it and understand. But best of all is the Christian sympathy of those who are convinced of the Love of God and seek to bring it home to the heavy laden; they may consciously use their own feeling for the sins and sorrows of others as a means of pointing the troubled in mind or body to the sympathy of Christ Himself. Christ has borne the burden of sin, and

understands the sinner's horror of his sin. Christ experienced so much pain and suffering as the Man of sorrows that He is infinitely understanding of all that physical privation and pain and weakness mean, and how they prey upon the spirit. To lead men within range of the sympathy of Christ so that they shall feel and know the change it can work in their minds and characters,—that may be done through human sympathy consciously directed to this end.

The cure of souls, then, as it has existed in all ages of the Church, has been the organised effort to use human sympathy in such a fashion as to render the burdened conscious of a sympathy that is divine, and to find consolation in Him. The whole of the Epistles ring with this sort of consolation; the effort to assure each and all of the scattered flock that in spite of persecution and heresies, and all evil, God was with them all the time, and helping them to trust themselves more completely to Him. It was in the deepening of this conviction that the growth of the new man within consisted. The cure of souls was the constant application to the circumstances of the lives of men, of the truth about God which Christ revealed to the world.

The whole may be set in a clearer light if we, in this matter, contrast Christianity with Judaism. In Israel there was a divine nation, and the religious life of the individual consisted in his entering fully into the religious life of the nation. He was bound to set himself right by the appropriate offering for any transgression; he was incited to participate in

the great gatherings for worship, and to cultivate the habits of life and thought which distinguish Israel from other peoples. His patriotism and his religion were blended; the social side of religion was external and legalistic; it was important to be of good standing in the community, and not to incur the shame of being put out of the synagogue; but there was little call to cultivate an inner life of self-dedication and devotion. Personal as was S. John the Baptist's preaching of repentance, it only encouraged the hearers to strive after righteousness by making fresh resolutions of their own, to turn from sin and enter on a new life. But in the Christian Church the attempt is made to care for the inner life of each member, to provide the atmosphere that may favour its growth, to guard against the special hindrances to which it may be exposed, and to bring about the edification of the whole through the advance of each.

While the contrast with Judaism is so striking, so too is the parallel. The thought of a pastoral office was familiar in the Old Testament, but it was exercised, not by prophets, but by kings and rulers. The care for God's people which was entrusted to David had been committed to him by God; and there was in the early Church a similar sense of the dignity of those who exercised the pastoral office in the Church. Theirs was a God-given duty; it was not, as S. Paul insisted, for man to question him as to his fulfilment of that duty. Christian ministers were not, like the officers of a democratic community,

responsible to those who had nominated or elected them, but to God Himself for their discharge of their ministry[1]. It was to the Chief Shepherd for whose speedy return they looked that they would have to give account for their pastoral care of His flock.

IV.

The Church was in the world, and was in many respects more or less analogous to other institutions both Jewish and Greek. But in this matter of pastoral care it was unique: as we read the apostolic injunctions, we feel that the Church provided the consolation of Christian sympathy in the distresses, physical or spiritual, of all its members. And this sympathy was not haphazard; it was systematic, and organised as completely as circumstances would allow; the first step in specialisation of ministerial function was taken at Jerusalem, in those early days when there was a *murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration*[2]. It was then that the deacons were appointed to attend to the wants of the poor, while the Apostles devoted themselves to the word of God and prayer.

In the first phase of expansion, there seem to have been only itinerant officials in the Church; and the little communities in Palestine, and among

[1] Augustine, *Ennar. in Ps.* cxxvi. in *Opera* IV. 1669 (Migne xxxvii.); Chrysostom, *de sac.* III. 5; Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* c. 6; *ad Magnes.* c. 3.
[2] Acts vi. 1.

the Jews of the Dispersion, had no resident ministry; under these circumstances the brethren were mutually responsible for each other's spiritual welfare. This is the condition which is exemplified in the Epistle of S. Jude when he writes *But ye, beloved, building up yourselves in your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ: and of some have compassion, making a difference; and others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.* The Epistle of James seems to point to a similar condition, where we read, *Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another that ye may be healed,* though if the elders of the Church are not merely men of experience to whom personal respect was due, but had been ordained to a definite office, it would point to a later phase of development[1]. To turn to the missions among the Gentiles, it has been suggested that the Colossians and the converts in neighbouring cities were still in this stage when S. Paul's Epistle to them was written[2].

The second stage of which we read is the development of a localised ministry, to carry on the work of

[1] The term presbyter is commonly used in connection with all the three stages of organisation here described, and it is therefore apt to cause confusion. It may mean (1) the Seniors, and therefore persons of experience and authority in an unorganised community, or (2) those Seniors in any city who were selected to be ordained to the episcopal office, or (3) the assistant curates of a monarchical bishop.

[2] Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 43.

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the Church, with less reliance on the evangelist or apostle who might be an occasional itinerant. The local ministry appears to have corresponded to the organisation at Jerusalem ; we read in the *Epistle to the Philippians* of bishops and deacons ; and the nature of the duties of the bishops can be best gathered from S. Paul's address at Miletus to the elders for whom he had sent from Ephesus. *Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God which He hath purchased with His blood : for I know this, that after my departing, shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them.* In a large community like Ephesus there were several bishops, responsible for the cure of souls in that place ; and this arrangement was evidently maintained in many places,—it apparently existed at Rome at the time when the *Pastor* was written.

Lastly we have the monarchical episcopacy, which, generally speaking, had superseded other forms of organisation, before the end of the second century[1], and was accepted in Asia as early as the time of the Ignatian epistles. It seems most probable, too, that the system of government indicated in the Apocalypse was similar in character ; and this result, thus early attained, has furnished the type which has survived till the present day, and has shown an extraordinary

[1] Sohm, *op. cit.* 181.

adaptability to the duties of pastoral care under many different conditions.

Once and again in the history of Christianity, there has been occasion to pass from the evangelistic to the pastoral function and to develop a local ministry to carry on and re-enforce the work of the itinerants. There is at all events an interesting analogy in quite recent times, in the development of Wesleyan institutions, when John Wesley organised classes in Bristol[1] and in London[2] for the mutual supervision and assistance of those who had been converted, and class leaders were appointed to effect the necessary supervision. Here, as in the first planting of the episcopate, the object in view was the care of souls ; though the Wesleyan leaders professed to draw on their own personal religious experience, rather than to exercise a responsibility placed upon them by Christ and His Apostles. In the eighteenth century the Christian religion was a known thing, embodied in printed books ; there was no longer the responsibility of maintaining unsullied the tradition of the faith, on which all their power of supplying the consolation of Christ rested. Still less was it possible for them to feel, as vividly as those early bishops must have done, that they had been definitely put in charge of a portion of Christ's flock during the temporary absence of the Shepherd Himself. As we look back to the first age, we cannot but feel that while the dignity claimed for the

[1] *Journals*, 4 April 1739 in *Works* (1886), I. 175.
[2] *Ib.* 25 April 1742 in *Works*, I. 342.

office seems extraordinary, it was simply a recognition of the tremendous responsibilities it entailed. The descriptions of episcopal duty[1] which we find in the sub-apostolical writings show a wide range of activities. Those bishops are commended who with a ready mind receive the servants of God into their own homes, who are in charge of the administration and care for the needy and the widows[2]. The life of the Early Church did not consist in successive moments of wrapt exaltation, for from the very first days there was need to seek for Christ's sheep that were dispersed abroad and for His children who were in the midst of this naughty world that they might be saved through Christ for ever.

[1] Though the Bishop came to be an administrative officer who was responsible for finance, this fiscal duty was not his main function; it was not the meaning of his name that he had to supervise income and expenditure, but that he was an overseer of souls.

[2] Hermas, *Pastor*, III. ix. 27; Ignatius, *ad Polycarp.* 4. For a similar view of episcopal functions in the fifth century compare Eusebius, *de martyr. Palest.* 11 (Migne xx. 1508 c). *Passio S. Theodoti Ancyrani*, 3, in Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 355. On the hospitals organised by S. Basil see his Epistles 94, 142, 143 in Migne XXXII. 487, 592, 593.

2. DEFINITION OF THE SPHERE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

With the close of the Apostolic age, the evangelistic work of the Church, as it had hitherto been carried on, seems to have fallen for a time into complete abeyance. The synagogues would hardly continue to offer a starting-point, when the Christians came to be generally known as a sect everywhere spoken against; and we do not hear of public preaching to all and sundry, like that of S. Paul on Mars' Hill. The legends which describe the evangelisation of the outlying parts of Western Europe fasten on historic names,—Lazarus, or S. James the Apostle, or S. Joseph of Arimathea; it is unlikely that there were any prominent preachers, whose fame could have been lovingly handed down by actual converts. And hence we may say that for the preservation of Christianity through the ages of persecution, for its steady growth at the centres where it had been planted in apostolic times, and for its organisation in new cities, dependence had to be placed on a localised ministry discharging pastoral functions. The wonderful work

of permeating the Empire, so that at length Christianity superseded Paganism altogether, was accomplished by innumerable bishops and priests; of some few, the bare names are preserved; but many there be who left no memorial. It is worth while to look as closely as we can at the system of organisation under which this marvellous work was accomplished. There are two processes about which it is necessary to say a little; on the one hand we find the concentration of authority in the hands of a single bishop; while on the other, there is a great increase in the numbers of those who were appointed to assist the bishop and work under him in different capacities; but with all this, there was definition; and so far as pastoral duty was concerned, a clearer understanding was reached in regard to the questions, Who should be responsible? and, For whom should he be responsible?

I.

During the last forty years a great deal of discussion has taken place about the Christian Ministry; and very great progress has been made in tracing its development. The impulse was given by Bishop Lightfoot's *Essay*, in his edition of the *Epistle to the Philippians*; and much interest was roused in 1880 by Dr Hatch's Bampton Lectures on the *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*; fresh light has been thrown on the subject by Harnack and other German scholars since that time, but much remains to be done before the story can be regarded

as approximately complete[1]. It may be enough to say that a considerable source of confusion has been due to the tendency on the part of different writers to attribute too much to some one influence, and to forget that the Christian Church was affected by many different elements in its environment. But after all, the most complete enumeration of outside influences is not likely to be convincing; the Church was living a life of its own; and the organisation, however suggested, was that which proved fittest for the Church's own purposes. It is by looking at the inner life, that we shall best come to understand the outer forms in which it found expression, and in particular by considering the functions they had to discharge from time to time, that we may hope to realise the precise position of the various officers. Outside analogies are very instructive, but they do not help us to comprehend the reason of the dignity which was ascribed so early to the episcopal office, or the burden of responsibility which it entailed in the eyes of conscientious men. Considering how much stress is laid upon it in Scripture, and how important it proved in the subsequent ages, insufficient account seems to have been taken of pastoral care, as an element which came into play in the development of the Christian Ministry[2].

The usual account of the concentration of authority is that there was originally a college of bishops, of

[1] The results have been excellently summarised by T. M. Lindsay in his *The Church and the Ministry*, 365–377.

[2] Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, I. 87 recognises that pastoral care was a factor, but Lightfoot, Hatch, Harnack, Lindsay and others hardly allude to it.

whom one was president[1]; and that the "emergence of the episcopate" occurred as power got gradually more and more into the hands of the president and the others became mere subordinates[2]. To the casual reader this view at least suggests the impression that the rise of the episcopate was due to the success of scheming ecclesiastics in striving to get power into their own hands. The language of S. Jerome[3] suggests this opinion, and it may be said to have found general acceptance, despite its inherent improbability to the mind of a careful student of early institutions like Rudolf Sohm. "No one," he says, "has so far been able to render such a process intelligible, much less to picture the stages of its development[4]." The fact is, an oligarchy, the members of which take it in turn to fill the various offices, possesses an extraordinarily stable constitution; the City Companies are of this character, and amid all their vicissitudes, the system has undergone little change in five or six centuries. It is inconceivable that if definite "colleges of bishops" exercising equal powers had ever been formed, they could have given place so rapidly, in one city after another, to monarchical episcopacy.

[1] In so far as the condition of affairs among the Marcionites may be taken as a survival of the primitive system, it seems that there was no regular constitution, and certainly no president, but that episcopal and other duties were shared in a somewhat haphazard way. Alius hodie episcopus, cras alius. Tertullian, *de praescript. haeret.* c. 41 (Migne II. 57), see also c. 32.

[2] Story, *The Apostolic Ministry*, 25.

[3] See below, p. 24.

[4] Sohm, *op. cit.* 117 n.

If, however, the bishops were not organised as a college, but were simply officials who exercised pastoral care over different groups, possibly using distinct languages[1] but living in the same city at the same time, concentration might easily occur as time went on. In Clement of Rome[2] and Eusebius[3], we find evidence of the importance which attached to those who had themselves been taught by the Apostles, and had had the pastoral office committed to them by an Apostle, directly. In any congregation where this feeling existed, a newly ordained bishop would necessarily be, in the eyes of the people, a suffragan, or assistant curate, rather than an official of equal status and authority with the man who had himself received his charge from the Apostles. There would be no electing of one man as a President over others who had hitherto been his equals, but only the bringing in new men in the position of subordinates, while the responsibilities of the surviving member of the original episcopate were gradually enlarged. There would be no obstacle to a transition of this kind, and it could be easily accomplished in a generation. Such a change does not lend itself to the suggestion of any unworthy grasping at superiority and exclusive rights; and it would obviously be an improvement of organisation for exercising the cure of souls.

This type of government, when once attained, was

[1] It seems probable that there was a Greek-using community at Rome, and that Hippolytus was their last bishop.

[2] Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Corinth.* 44.

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* I. 1, III. 4.

preferred and perpetuated; for there was definite experience which made men feel it desirable that all the Christians in one city should be under one head. There were doubtless many possibilities of friction which might have rendered this step inevitable, but we are not thrown back on mere speculation; the difficulty, of which we hear, actually arose in connection with a natural sentiment. There was a very strong personal tie between an Apostle and those who had been brought to accept the gospel through his ministry. S. Paul writes to the Corinthians as a Father in God: *as my beloved sons, I warn you, for though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers*[1]. He describes his son Onesimus, *as one begotten in his bonds*[2]. It must certainly have seemed fitting that those who were responsible for the admission of anyone into Christ's Church, should be charged with the duty of watching the growth of the spiritual life, and that each minister should claim the oversight of persons whom he had baptised. That this claim, however natural it might seem, was fraught with possible mischief, soon became apparent; S. Paul himself abstained from baptising, *lest any should say that he baptised in his own name*[3]. The baptism of John had been, to a considerable extent, the sign of acceptance of a personal leadership. S. Paul disclaimed any desire to secure a following of his own; he only sought to lead men to be followers of Christ[4]. The danger of schism,

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15.
[2] Philemon 10.
[3] 1 Cor. i. 14, 15.
[4] 1 Cor. xi. 1, Phil. iii. 14 and 17.

which he had anticipated, was very real; and it was at length met by the election of a bishop to be responsible for the care of all the members of Christ's Church sojourning in a particular city. As S. Jerome writes in his *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*: "afterwards, when every one claimed that those whom he baptised were his own, not Christ's, it was determined that one of the presbyters should be chosen to be superior to the rest, to whom the care of the whole church should pertain, and the causes of schism be removed[1]." Pastoral responsibility ceased to depend on a definite personal bond of preacher and convert; it came to be defined territorially for a city as a whole; and one single authority was substituted for the previous system, because it was real improvement in organisation, and the work of the Church could be better done. The erection of a single baptistery for the whole town, like San Giovanni at Florence, is an outward and visible sign of the unity which was to prevail throughout each city. The Bishop came to have exclusive authority over all the Christians sojourning in his city, and he was supported by the canons of numerous Councils in taking exception to any intrusion into his parish[2], or as we should call it, his diocese.

[1] Jerome, *Comment. in Tit.* I. 5, *Opera* (Migne XXVI. 562). Compare also Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* 8.

[2] Dr Reichel renders this term (*parochia*) by administrative district. It appears to be applied by Innocent I (*Ep.* XXV. 5) to the smaller area, to which it is restricted by modern usage; but the term continued to be used of the unit of episcopal administration in the twelfth century (Mansi, *Concilia*, XXII. 374, 443).

II.

The establishment of a diocesan episcopate was a step of the first importance, as defining with precision with whom the responsibility ultimately lay for the care of any particular group of Christians. It also presents to us the conception of a clearly marked ecclesiastical unit within which different duties had to be discharged, and for which a number of ecclesiastical officials were appointed. Many of these were directly connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist: in order that there might be frequent celebrations, or celebrations at a number of different chapels within a city, a body of priests was ordained; while the reverence which was felt for the service was shown in the admission to minor orders, and to a consecrated life, of those who performed even the humblest tasks in connection with this divine rite[1]. The duties of acolytes, door-keepers and so forth, testify to the increased elaboration of the services[2]; these offices were used as affording an apprenticeship through which men might pass who aspired to the priesthood and the episcopate.

The eleemosynary side of Christian activity was also immensely developed during the period of persecutions. There were sure to be many who had suffered in health and in goods either in local riots, or a special persecution, and they had a strong claim upon the beneficence of their fellow Christians. For this too, the Bishop was ultimately responsible; but there were large numbers of deacons through whom

[1] Sohm, *op. cit.* 128.

[2] Eusebius VI. 43 (Migne XX. 621).

relief was administered. The work multiplied so greatly that it was impossible for the Bishop to be in direct communication with all these agents; and archdeacons were appointed, to be the channel through which the activities of the deacons might be effectively supervised[1]. In all this there is much elaboration and system; but it seems to be chiefly due to the attempt to carry out as effectively as possible, the old tasks under new and trying conditions.

With the elaboration of this scheme of diocesan episcopacy we see that the Bishops had attained a position of unexampled authority; the constitution of the Church had entered on a phase of episcopal autocracy. There was a large number of officials, but all the resources of the Christian community were placed in the hands of the Bishop, who was trusted to use them to the best purpose. From the offerings made in church, and other gifts, he had to defray the expenses of the church services and to maintain his own household, and all the clergy of the diocese were maintained out of the portions he assigned them from the common purse. We can at all events see the enormous importance which the episcopate had assumed in the organisation of the Church, during the second and third centuries, when we remember that Valerian hoped to be able to put down Christianity without having recourse to violent measures, by the simple expedient of banishing the bishops from their flocks[2].

[1] A. Schroeder, *Entwickelung des Archidiakonats bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, p. 23.

[2] A.D. 257. A. J. Mason, *Persecution of Diocletian*, 136.

III.

In the middle of the Third Century we find the first definite traces of a second and most important step in the definition of pastoral responsibility. The deacons and the priests of each diocese appear to have been a staff of assistant curates who might be employed, at the discretion of the Bishop, on duties in any part of his city; but during the third century a change took place at Rome, first with regard to the deacons, and a few years later in regard to the priests as well. Under Fabian[1] there was a division of the city into districts for purposes of charitable relief, and each deacon had his own recognised sphere of work; while under Dionysius[2] the churches in the city and the cemetery churches[3] were each placed under the charge of their own presbyters. This was the first step towards defining the parish in the modern sense of the term. The Christian community at Rome was so large and flourishing[4], that it may

[1] A.D. 236–50. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 148.

[2] A.D. 259–268. Duchesne, *op. cit.* 157. Marcellus (A.D. 308–9) organised the system more completely, to provide for the burial of the remains of martyrs, and the baptism of the crowds who offered themselves as converts. *Ib.* 164. For the manner of working this system in 416 A.D. see Innocent I, *Ep.* XXV. c. 5 (Migne XX. 557).

[3] There were Christian burial grounds at Carthage in 203 A.D. (Tertullian, *ad Scapulam*, 3 and *Apologeticus*, c. 37). Compare also Hippolytus, *Philos.* IX. 12 (in Origen, *Opera*, Migne XVI. 3383). Burial rites were the means of giving the Christians status before the law (de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea cristiana*, I. 101), and cemetery chapels have an important part in the history of Christian architecture. G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, 65. See below, p. 45.

[4] Eusebius, *op. cit.* VI. 43 (Migne XX. 621). Harnack, *Expansion*, II. 387.

well have taken the lead in matters of organisation, though it may possibly have been anticipated in this matter by Alexandria[1]; obviously when the example of dividing the responsibility of pastoral work was once set, the convenience of the arrangement would lead to its being adopted in other cities. We may thus see that before the period of persecution closed, the parish, like the diocese, was already a recognised unit of ecclesiastical organisation and that the area of the respective responsibility of the bishop and of the parish priest for the cure of souls had become defined. The exclusive responsibility of the bishop was recognised, and the intrusion of other bishops within his diocese was condemned[2]; while on the other hand, his personal responsibility was not less real, because of the settling of presbyters in particular parishes, but it had become less direct and immediate. The ordinary pastoral duties were, however, discharged by the parish priest. He was bound to instruct the people committed to his charge in the Christian Faith, sometimes by sermons, and also by less formal instruction. It was his place to visit the sick, to deal with penitents and to make intercessions for the departed. But the oversight over all the Christians in his diocese rested with the Bishop, and his relationship to each member of his flock personally was not wholly forgotten. It cannot be said to have been

[1] Harnack, *op. cit.* II. 309, Socrates, *Hist. Ec.* i. c. 27, Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* Lib. II. lxviii. 4, lxix. 1 (Migne XLII. 190, 202). Also for Jerusalem in the time of S. Jerome. Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* I. 8 (Migne xx. 189).

[2] Mansi, *Concilia* (Sardica A.D. 347) III. p. 19, cc. 11–15.

set aside so long as the administration of the rite of Confirmation in all cases, and the responsibility for the admission of adults to Baptism, are recognised as belonging to the Bishop of the Diocese.

IV.

The sudden relief from persecution, and the status which accrued to the Church through the action of Constantine, made an extraordinary difference in many ways; it became possible to build magnificent churches and to obtain endowments for the maintenance of Christian worship[1] and philanthropy; but the greatest change of all was in the character, one might say in the very conception, of pastoral work. The peace of the Church opened up such an enormous vista of new worlds to conquer for Christ. In the apostolic age, the hope had been to gather a few saints together in each city to witness for Christ, till His speedy return to triumph over evil; this spirit survived in force, and showed itself, when the cities became nominally Christian, in the desire of many to retire from the world and lead a religious life of self-discipline and prayer. It found expression in the spread of monasticism, and the rapid growth of the order of S. Benedict. Along with this development of entire self-consecration to a religious life in the strict sense of the term, there was a fresh understanding of the duty of the Church to the world. In the Fourth Century, bishops learned

[1] Stutz, *op. cit.* 45, refers to the case of S. Agatha at Rome.

that they were not to be content with caring for a segregated company of real Christians; but that the message they had to give was for the whole city; that it was their business to try and turn all the inhabitants into nominal Christians at least, and to strive to make all the nominal Christians real ones. Since the Church no longer existed on sufferance, but had become dominant, the flock was doubtless swelled by large numbers, who were prepared to conform to the newly recognised order, since they had no serious convictions of their own. Many of them must have been wholly uninstructed in the Christian Faith; but under the new state of things, the parish priest had a direct duty towards them, such as he could not have felt in the same way, during the years when his primary work was that of encouraging and strengthening a little body of earnest men and women in circumstances of anxiety and danger. After the peace of the Church, the work of evangelisation recommenced with a development of what we should now call home mission work,—as the duty of parish priests in all parts of the Empire. Pastoral and Evangelistic work were brought into closer relations than before, and the duty of instructing the ignorant became more prominent. The new need called forth fresh activity; the greatest men of the time devoted themselves to writing about the importance of the ministry, and especially about pastoral care. S. Augustine's treatise *de catechizandis rudibus* dealt with an aspect of parochial duty. S. Chrysostom's treatise on the

Priesthood and S. Gregory the Great's on *Pastoral Care* are monuments of the time when some of the difficulties which have beset the parish priest in Christian countries, in every age since that time, were first felt in their full force. We shall find in these writings some things that grate on modern sentiment; but we can hardly fail to feel that the Christian heroes, of the fourth and fifth centuries, had a full measure of the sense of responsibility of the first days, and a strong vein of common sense in their efforts to face the problems of their own times.

V.

Another great step in advance, which had hardly been practicable before the peace of the Church, was the evangelisation of rural districts, and this began to go on rapidly. The character of the requisite organisation was to some extent determined by the distribution of the population. In Italy, where there were many episcopal cities within short distances of one another, the diocesan staff sufficed to work the intervening areas; but in other regions this could not be done, and it seemed necessary to found new dioceses. This went on with some rapidity, till it appeared that there was some danger, especially in Africa, of an undue multiplication of bishoprics. It was said that the whole order would lose in importance if this dignity were accorded to the ministers who presided over the Christians in a mere village, or a

market town[1]. There were various transitional forms of organisation under chorepiscopi[2], and again under arch-priests, but on the whole the principle was adopted of placing village churches under the care of a parish priest, who was, however, under the authority of the bishop of some neighbouring city. In the ninth century there was an extension of diocesan organisation, and the rural deans came to be charged by the bishop with the supervision of the clergy in rural districts[3].

There were cases where the bishop himself established churches for rural districts near his city, but by far the larger number of churches appear to have been established by private persons. So long as there was one diocesan fund, the bishops were not disposed to welcome provision for the spiritual needs of the rural districts very eagerly: a large number of struggling mission churches would be a drain on the finances of any diocese, and the central fund could no longer look for support from an area where a distinct church had to be maintained; there was so to speak a double loss. Before a bishop consecrated a church on private lands, therefore, he tried to insist on two conditions, first that there should be an ample dos[4], or endowment, not only for the main-

[1] Mansi, *Concilia* (Sardica A.D. 347) III. p. 10, c. 6.

[2] *Ib.* (Neo-Cæsarea A.D. 314) II. p. 546, cc. 13, 14. Routh, *Rel. Sacra*, IV. p. 13.

[3] Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, I. 95. They were supposed to have ten parishes under them; in England the Hundred and the Rural Deanery often coincide.

[4] Stutz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens*, 96.

tenance of the services, but also for the support of the priest; and second that the bishop's authority over this endowed parish priest should be properly secured[1]. As a net result, we may say that a very large number of these village churches were founded on the lands of proprietors, all through France and Germany, before the time of Charles the Great, and many were provided by episcopal landowners[2]; but the bishops were by no means successful in maintaining the endowments intact. The lay proprietor, or his son, was not unlikely to retract the grant he had made; and he was also likely to resent the interference of the bishop with one of his own men, holding a portion of his own property, even if that man were the parish priest. The progress of endowment gave the less scrupulous laity an unhealthy interest in church affairs; and the independently endowed parishes were a lever for breaking down the autocracy of the bishops. But, for our immediate purpose, these abuses need not detain us. There were many founders of churches who were not models of virtue, and there is a great deal of the Church History of Merovingian times that is not particularly edifying. For all that we can imagine some saint of these days—and there were saints too—saying like S. Paul, "Some found churches out of malice hoping to add to my afflictions, but every way whether in offence or in truth, churches are being founded, and therein I

[1] Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales*, 190; Werninghoff, *Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung Deutschland's*, 85.

[2] Imbart de la Tour, *op. cit.* 200.

rejoice and will rejoice." The firm hold which Christianity obtained in the rural districts of Western Christendom, was secured in these troublous times, and thus a work was accomplished which seems to present almost insuperable difficulties in the United States in our own day[1]. However far their practice fell short, their aims and ideas were clear; they knew what they wanted. On paper, and in the canons, there was a complete diocesan system both in ancient cities and in the rural districts. The bishop's exclusive authority in his diocese was guarded; while the parish, with its priest drawing his income from local resources, but under the jurisdiction of the bishop, was also a recognised institution.

[1] See below, p. 132.

3. THE ENGLISH PAROCHIAL SYSTEM.

I.

The success of the inroads of the Barbarians upon the Christianised Empire called for a fresh departure, and the Church responded to that call. The purely evangelistic work of preaching to people among whom the name of Christ was unknown, had been almost in abeyance since the apostolic age; but it was taken up again with fresh vigour. We hear of Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths, and of such saints as Patrick, and Columba, as well as Cuthbert, Columbanus and Boniface, who all made long itineraries preaching among the Celts and the Angles or other Teutonic tribes. But owing to the habits of life of these peoples, evangelistic work took a very different form from that which had been possible in the time of S. Paul. The apostle of the Gentiles had gone from one great centre of population to another; Antioch, and Ephesus, and Corinth were the strategic points

he occupied. But among the Celts and the Teutons there was no such city life; the tribes had recently emerged from a semi-nomadic condition, and were scattered over large areas. It was only occasionally that any considerable numbers drew together at fairs for purposes of trade. S. Anskar and others took advantage of the opportunity, for reaching large numbers, which such a concourse afforded; but for the most part it was necessary to begin with the work which the early Church had reserved to the last, and attempt the Christianisation of a population scattered widely through rural districts.

The difficulty was met by applying monasticism to a new purpose; monasteries had been formed with the object of withdrawing from a corrupt society; they were now to be utilised as the principal agents for reclaiming a savage world. In the mission of S. Augustine and his monks to England, we see how S. Gregory the Great was consciously using a monastic community for missionary work among the heathen; it was through this agency that Christianity took a hold in Kent and among the Saxons and Angles. The Roman missionaries were not the first preachers of Christian truth in this island; but the monasticism of the Britons had shown little power of touching their conquerors, and the tribal organisation of the Columban Church had inherent weaknesses. Hence it came about that the Christianity, which took possession of England, was Christianity as it had been developed and organised in Rome, and on the continent; there was a known ecclesiastical system,

and this "Church and Realm received the same." From the time when he first planned the mission, Gregory had in view the division of Roman Britain into twenty-four dioceses[1]; and episcopal rule, with a definite demarcation of the territory for which each bishop was responsible, came to be generally accepted in the time of Archbishop Theodore[2]; though it did not meet with complete approval in areas where the Columban system had been in vogue[3]. The dioceses that were actually formed were not the same as those which Gregory had suggested, and there has of course been much subsequent rearrangement; but the English Church was organised from the first on the principle of territorial episcopacy. The close connection between several of the bishops and a monastery in the cathedral cities was, however, a special feature that bore witness to the important part which the monasteries had played in the work of evangelisation. The fact that the bishop was head of a community seems to have affected the character of the policy pursued, to some extent; and the episcopal autocrat, as he existed in France in Merovingian times, hardly seems to have been developed on English soil.

[1] Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* I. 29.

[2] He conducted a visitation of all England in 669 A.D., and endeavoured to unite the whole ecclesiastical administration under the See of Canterbury. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III. 117, 132.

[3] The difficulty continued for generations. See Synod of Celchyth, A.D. 816, c. 5, Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* III. 581.

II.

The development of the parochial system, however, went on very slowly indeed. In the northern part of the country, where the Columban influence was strong, we get a picture of each monastery as the centre from which itinerant preachers went out to visit the villages. "The religious habit was at that time in great veneration; so that where any clergyman or monk happened to come, he was joyfully received by all persons as God's servant. Great attention was also paid to their exhortations, and if any priest happened to come into a village, the inhabitants flocked together to hear the word of life; for the priest and clergyman went into the villages on no other account than to preach, baptise, visit the sick and in a word to take care of souls[1]."

Equally instructive is the account of S. Cuthbert's labours as an itinerant minister. "He often went out of the monastery, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, and repaired to the neighbouring towns, where he preached the way of truth to such as were gone astray.....Cuthbert was so skilful an orator, so fond was he of enforcing his subject, and such a brightness appeared in his angelic face, that no man present presumed to conceal from him the inmost secret of his heart, but all openly confessed what they had done; because they thought the same guilt could not be concealed from him, and wiped off the guilt of what they had so confessed with worthy

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 26.

fruits of penance as he commanded. He was wont chiefly to resort to those places, and preach in such villages, as being seated high up among craggy uncouth mountains, were frightful to others to behold, and whose poverty and barbarity rendered them inaccessible to other teachers; which nevertheless he, having entirely devoted himself to that pious labour, did so industriously apply himself to polish with his doctrine, that when he departed out of his monastery, he would often stay a week, sometimes two or three, and sometimes a whole month before he returned home, continuing among the mountains to allure that rustic people by his preaching and example to heavenly employments[1]." In the time of King Alfred it seems to have been a recognised practice to use the monastery as the centre of ministerial work over an extended area.

There are, however, many indications that the foundation of village churches was going on, in England as elsewhere. When we read that Birinus of Dorchester built and consecrated churches[2] it may possibly mean that he founded monasteries as new centres of evangelisation, but there are undoubted instances of laymen[3] building oratories and procuring resident chaplains. Earl Puck built a church at Bishop's Burton in Yorkshire[4] and another was built at Cherry Burton by Earl Addi[5]; and it is evident that steady efforts were made to increase the number

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 27.
[2] *Ib.* III. 7.
[3] Selden, *Tithes*, 259.
[4] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 4.
[5] *Ib.* V. 5.

of localised priests with shrift districts[1], to serve village churches. The duties of these clergy were carefully laid down by the Council of Clovesho in 747 A.D.[2], but there seems to have been considerable difficulty in bringing them under effective episcopal control[3]. Once and again we hear of the efforts made by bishops to exercise supervision over the localised clergy, and to raise the standard of pastoral care. Bede's Letter to Egbert the Bishop of York in 734 A.D. is very instructive on this subject[4] as well as the Report of the Legates in 787 A.D.[5], and the homilies of Archbishop Elfric[6] may be regarded as a handbook to assist the clergy in giving instruction in the Christian faith.

The work of providing for Christian instruction in the rural districts occupied the attention of kings as well as bishops, and the matter was very seriously taken to heart by King Alfred. The ravages of the Danes had been severely felt by the monastic houses, but they must have affected the rural districts as

[1] *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, c. 42; Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, II. 245, 246.

[2] Ut presbyteri per loca et regiones laicorum quae sibi ab episcopis provinciae insinuata et injuncta sunt, evangelicae et apostolicae praedicationis officium in baptizando et docendo ac visitando sub legitimo ritu ac diligenti cura studeant explere, ut secundum apostolum, "Duplici honore digni habeantur," caveantque omnino ut decet ministros, ne aliqua contemnendae ac pravae conversationis exempla de se saecularibus sive monasterialibus praebeant, id est, est caetera taceantur vel inebriositata, vel turpis lucri gratia, seu turpi eloquio et his similibus. Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* III. 365.

[3] *Excerptiones Ecgberti*, 160; Council of Celchyth, A.D. 816, c. 11; Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* III. 584.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.* III. 314, especially c. 3.

[5] *Ib.* III. 449. [6] Thorpe, *op. cit.* II. 365.

well; the king was much concerned that the clergy should be qualified to use the English tongue in instructing their parishioners in the Christian religion. He issued a translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, for the benefit of the clergy, and introduced a preface[1] which gives a vivid picture of the evils he designed to remedy. "King Alfred bids greet Bishop Waerfurth, lovingly and friendly in his words, and I bid thee to make it known that it hath come into my mind what wise men formerly were throughout the English race both of the spiritual and the secular condition, and how happy the times then were through the English race,...and also the religious orders how earnest they were, both about their doctrine and about their learning, and about all the services that they should do to God, and how men from abroad sought wisdom and instruction in this land, and how we must now get them from without if we would have them. So clean was learning now fallen off among the English race that there were very few on this side of the Humber that were able to understand their sense in English, or even to turn a missive from Latin into English; and I think there were not many beyond the Humber. So few there were of them that I cannot think of even one on the south of the Thames, when I first took to the kingdom. To God Almighty be thanks that we now have any teacher in the stall, and therefore I have commanded thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt,—and that thou, who from the things of this life art at leisure

[1] King Alfred's *Works*, III. 64.

for this, as thou often mayest that thou bestow the wisdom that God has given thee, wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what punishment shall come upon us for this world, when we have not ourselves loved it in the least degree, and also have not left it to other men to do so. We have had the name alone that we were Christians, and very few of the virtues. When I then called to mind all this thus I remembered how I saw, ere that all in them was laid waste and burnt up, how the churches throughout all the English race stood filled with treasures and books, and also a great multitude of God's servants, but they knew very little use of those books, for that they could not understand anything of them, for that they were not written in their own language, such as they, our elders, spoke, who erewhile filled these places; they loved wisdom, and through that got wealth, and left it to us. Here men may yet see their path, but we know not how to tread in their footsteps, inasmuch as we have lost both that wealth and wisdom for that we could not with our minds stoop to their tracks. When I then called to mind all this, I then wondered greatly, about those good and wise men that have been of old among the English race, and who had fully learned all the books, that they have not been willing to turn any part of them into their own language." Others before King Alfred had realised that it was important that the clergy should be learned, and should also be able to give religious instruction in the vulgar tongue, but he was at special pains to promote this object.

III.

We have not such full information as could be wished in regard to the provision that was made for the maintenance of the clergy. Gregory the Great had expected that there would be a common fund, under episcopal control, for each diocese[1]; but this principle was difficult to apply in connection with monastic missions; and only a very small proportion of the clergy in England can ever have been in direct economic dependence on their bishops. It seems more probable that monasteries were endowed with lands, and that the brethren of each monastery went on circuit, or were placed in charge of village churches within the sphere of influence of their own monastery[2]. When the foundation by laymen of oratories or chapels on their own estates began, they seem to have assigned a "special and several maintenance for the incumbent[3]"; but it is hardly probable that many of these chapels survived the destruction wrought by the Danes, as self-dependent institutions. The revival of monastic discipline in the time of Dunstan[4] reacted on religious life in neighbouring districts where the churches had fallen into decay.

Neither the central diocesan funds under episcopal control, nor the endowments assigned by laymen, were altogether satisfactory in Christendom generally; and

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 27 and Selden, *Tithes*, 253.
[2] J. Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, 24.
[3] Selden, *op. cit.* 260.
[4] Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, 218.

considerable additional provision was made for the clergy, as the duty of paying tithe came to be more definitely recognised. In the first 400 years of the Church's history this was not specifically insisted upon; and even in the time of Charles the Great, Alcuin treated it as a duty for the fully instructed Christian man, but a burden that it was not prudent to impose upon new converts. In England the obligation is recognised in the laws of Edward and Guthrum[1], and King Athelstan issued an admonition on the subject[2]. As late as the time of King John, however, there continued to be a feeling that this was a personal obligation, which a man might discharge by giving his tithe to the philanthropic or religious object he preferred[3], though in the laws of Edgar there had been a very distinct definition of the manner in which tithe should be paid. The claim of the Minster or Cathedral Church was recognised, but if anyone had a church in his own land with a cemetery attached, a third part of the tithe might go to this church instead[4]. Many of the local proprietors undoubtedly would prefer that the tithe should not be paid away from their own estates, and the new churches, founded with episcopal consent on manorial estates[5] in Norman and Angevin

[1] Cap. 6 in Thorpe, *op. cit.* I. 170. [2] Selborne, *op. cit.* 184.

[3] Selden, *Tithes*, 289. This is specified as a privilege of Stori, an ancestor of William of Ayncourt, *Domesday Book*, I. 280, a. 2.

[4] If there was no churchyard the whole of the tithe went to the minster and the thane had to pay the priest himself. Thorpe, *op. cit.* I. 263.

[5] Selden, *Tithes*, 360.

times, probably had tithe assigned them. By the time of King John the principles had come to be recognised that any church, which had a font and a burying-ground attached, might be constituted a parish church, and that the tithe of the property should go to the parish church. The principle of treating the baptismal church as a mother church, is very old indeed; but this association of parochial rights with facilities for sepulture is of considerable interest[1]. It helps to explain one of the curious anomalies which we find in the present day in many old English towns; an ancient practice among the English had been, in heathen times, to bury their dead in spaces set apart in the immediate neighbourhood of their houses. In the towns which grew up round strongholds and near centres of trade, it was not unnatural that there should be several burying-places, and that neighbours should join in the common use of a ground allotted for this purpose. When a chapel was built in connection with the cemetery, and owners were permitted to endow it with the tithe of their portion of the common fields, it attained the status of a parish church if the bishop approved. In Canterbury, Exeter, London, Norwich, Cambridge and York, the parish churches are very numerous. Similarly where two churches are pro-

[1] The Law of Cnut distinguishes the church where there is little service, but which yet has a burying-place, from the field church where there is no burying-place. *Laws of Cnut*, Ecclesiastical, cc. 3, 11, 13. Thorpe, *op. cit.* I. 361. See also *Domesday Book*, II. 281*b*; 35 Ed. I. c. 2.

vided for one village, as at Duxford, Long Stanton or Gransden, the question of burial rights was probably the excuse for what seems to us such superfluous church accommodation. On the other hand, where ample cemetery provision was made by the Abbey which formed the nucleus of the town, or in connection with one church, there was no similar excuse for the multiplication of parish churches, and we do not find it at Bury, or Yarmouth, or Nottingham, to nearly the same extent.

The growth of the parochial system in rural England had been very slow, and many elements have been at work to bring it into being, but in the thirteenth century there was very complete provision for the parochial clergy; and the principle of maintaining a resident parson in charge of each parish had become firmly accepted. Even at that date the impropriation of parochial tithes by religious houses was going on to an extent that seemed quite injurious[1]; but the monasteries, in Angevin and Plantagenet times, did not revert to the method of serving the churches by means of itinerant priests. They were now obliged[2] to maintain a resident incumbent; his status, and the security of his tenure differed in different cases; he might be a vicar to whom a right to a share of the tithes was assigned; or a salaried curate, who was called perpetual because he had a life tenure in his position, or only a chaplain

[1] Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 88 and 418.

[2] *Constitutiones D. Othoboni*, tit. 22, in Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, II. 120, 121.

who was removable at will[1]; but in any case there was a priest appointed to each parish, who was to be responsible for the cure of souls.

Pains were taken by the ecclesiastical authorities to improve the standard of clerical duty among parish priests. The *Concilium Pan-Anglicum* which met in 1237 in London, under the presidency of the Cardinal Otho, dealt fully with the matter[2], and Archbishop Peckham's letter in 1287 to the Archdeacon of Canterbury may be cited as another case in point[3]; but civil authorities also interested themselves in the matter[4]. Papal encroachment had increased the evils of monastic intrusion on the parochial resources, and there passed into alien hands[5] much property which had been intended for the maintenance of resident parsons of "strict life and holy conversation, who were willing to reside in their benefices, and to expend the goods of Holy Church in works of charity according to the devotion and intent of the donors[6]." The cure of souls was a matter of public concern; and Parliament has again and again taken

[1] Examples of these different sorts of benefice survive in Cambridge; there is a Rector at S. Botolph's, a Vicar at S. Giles's, a Perpetual Curate at Great S. Mary's and a Chaplain at S. Edward's.

[2] Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, II. p. 24, *De institutione Vicariorum*.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, II. 128. See also Stephen Langton in Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III. tit. 4, p. 131.

[4] *Rot. Parl.* II. 162; *Petitions*, 20 Ed. III. c. 21.

[5] Complaint was made in 1376 of alien clergy who knew nothing of their parishioners and did not maintain either the service of God or works of charity. "The Holy Church," it was said, "is more injured by such bad Christians than by all the Jews and Saracens in the world." *Rot. Parl.* II. 338.

[6] *Rot. Parl.* II. 337.

account of the impediments in the way of discharging it[1]. Under Elizabeth[2] and Charles II[3] there is further legislation which recognises the distinction between clergy who have, and those who have not, cure of souls[4]. This marks the fact that the parish priest, like the Bishop, but unlike the Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral, has a definite responsibility for the cure of souls within a clearly marked area.

IV.

The English parochial system had been modelled on that which had come into vogue in Western Christendom; and England was necessarily involved in the great struggle in regard to the status and position of the clergy which raged in Europe from the time of Hildebrand to that of Boniface. Christianity, established and endowed in an age when feudalism was dominant, was becoming feudalised; and there was a magnificent struggle to maintain and bring into clear consciousness the spiritual mission of the Church.

The impulse is commonly ascribed to the Abbey of Cluny, which had been founded in 910 A.D., and in which the idea of a monastic congregation was realised; there were numerous houses, each presided over by its own prior, but not allowed to remain in

[1] 35 Edward I. c. 4; 25 Edward III. st. vi.; 15 Richard II. c. 6; 4 Henry IV. c. 12; and *Rot. Parl.* 5 Henry IV. art. 74.
[2] 13 El. c. 12. [3] 12 Chas. II. c. 17.
[4] Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 113.

isolation, since all were under the general control of the Abbot of Cluny. The high ideals, which were expressed in this reformed monastic life, took possession of Hildebrand. He had a great belief in the enforcement of law[1] as the remedy for disorder of every kind; and he was convinced that the concentration of authority in the hands of the Pope was the best means of rectifying abuses and of raising the whole character of the secular clergy, who were, as bishops and priests, living in the world.

The insidious and serious danger, which arises from the Spirit of the Age, is never far from us, and is therefore one we can easily understand. The clergy—bishops and parish priests—held property, and had certain duties to do; in a wild age, this property was often placed under the protection of a king or powerful personage, as in no other way could it be safeguarded, and thus it was in a line with all the property of ordinary persons. But the tendency of Feudalism was to accentuate the private relationship between one man and his feudal superior, and to neglect duty to the community as a whole; there was a strong sense of private obligation, but little or no public spirit. Were the clergy, bishops and priests alike, to be allowed to drift into the position of servants of men—the mere creatures of the kings and potentates and manorial lords—of whom they were the tenants, and in a sense the dependents? or were the clergy to be made to

[1] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschland's*, III. 762.

remember, and the laity to admit, the principle of spiritual independence? The clergy were the ministers of God; it was to God they were responsible and they ought not, according to the canonists, to be treated like other feudal tenants.

To the baron of the day, and to the civil lawyer, the case was clear. The clergy held property of a feudal superior, as a knight held his fee; in each case there were incidental obligations; the knight had to do military service if called on, the priest had to perform service; but the duty could be viewed as an adjunct to the property; and the property, and the relationships it involved, as the main thing[1]. If the lord of the manor formally admitted the parish priest to the possession of his glebe and tithes, as he admitted a villein to his yardland, the spiritual character of the office, and the responsibility to God for the manner of exercising it, were in danger of being ignored altogether. This is the gist of the controversy as to investitures; we hear most of it, as it affected the bishops, but it was quite as important in regard to parish priests. The policy of Hildebrand succeeded at last, and admission to the temporalities of a benefice could only be legally effected in this country, through induction by an Archdeacon or Vicar-General.

But Hildebrand was not content with rectifying external forms: he knew that the clergy were suffering personally from the influence of the feudalising spirit; and he set himself to change the habit of thought,

[1] On the working of these tendencies in Germany, see Werninghoff, *op. cit.* 259.

so that no man should drift into the way of thinking of his benefice as a personal possession, like any other possession, to which certain specific obligations were attached. He wished to lay stress on the clerical office, and to introduce disabilities into the treatment of ecclesiastical endowments, which should mark them off definitely from other property.

1. It is characteristic of ordinary property that a man is at liberty to buy or sell it; he may exchange it for money if he likes, or if he chooses hire it out for a time. Hildebrand was determined to stop such transactions in connection with ecclesiastical offices. The buying and selling of bishoprics had been a matter of frequent occurrence; it was a scandal, but bargains in regard to parochial benefices hardly attracted attention. Considering how deep-rooted the evil was, Hildebrand was extraordinarily successful in his attack upon it; and the legislation which he introduced has been the foundation of all subsequent legislation in England. In its glaring form the sin of simony is very shocking, and has brought grave discredit on the Church, even in recent times. But it is one into which an earnest man may fall, unthinkingly; the desire to obtain a position in which he genuinely hopes to devote himself to the service of God, may render him obtuse to the iniquity of the transaction by which he obtains such a position. In the eighteenth century, when purchase was the rule in the Army and Navy, the consciences of educated men were not very sensitive to the evil of purchasing advowsons or presentations; and the law of the land, which re-enforces Hildebrand's

principle[1], has been a much needed reminder as to the danger of action which may seem plausible, but is none the less sacrilegious.

2. So far as ordinary property is concerned a man is generally regarded as in honour bound to use his property not only for his own good, but for that of his wife and family; and it appeared that the clergy were inclined to make such provision, to the injury of the benefice, either by charging it, or transferring it to a son. Hildebrand's method of dealing with this evil was sufficiently drastic; he endeavoured to enforce celibacy on the clergy, and thus to cut them off from the burden of secular cares. The strong sentiment in favour of asceticism was an element which enabled him to carry his point and to obtain support from public opinion, especially at Milan; but the reason of the crusade at this time was the recognition of the truth expressed by S. Paul when he says *He that is married careth for the things of this world, how he may please his wife*[2]. In this matter, too, we may feel that, though the Anglican Church had discarded the remedy on which he relied, as entailing evils of its own, the mischief he endeavoured to avert was real. The system of a married clergy may perhaps be seen at its best in English parishes; though even here the gain is not unmixed, and many a man is terribly burdened by anxiety[3] about making

[1] 31 El. c. 6; 12 Anne, st. ii. c. 12; 61 and 62 Victoria, c. 48.

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 33. Comp. *Leges H. I.* LVII. 9, in Thorpe, *op. cit.* I. 555.

[3] In organising a puritan ministry in Wales the Act of 1649 provides pensions not exceeding £30 a year for the widows of

any provision for his wife, or carrying on the education of his children and giving them a start in life. But when we look at the work of the Anglican Church throughout the world, in tropical climates, or in the colonies, it becomes clear that there are many spheres where a family is likely to be an encumbrance; and where it is specially important that a man should be able to serve God without distraction. Hildebrand succeeded in insisting that the clergy should cut themselves off from these particular difficulties; and it is certainly important that those who do not set themselves to avoid this form of the danger of treating the ministry as if it were a secular career, should be consciously alive to the need of resisting the temptation.

V.

The policy of Hildebrand then brought him and his successors into conflict, not only with the most powerful princes and potentates, but with a large proportion of the episcopate and the clergy; he could only hope to carry his policy through by the centralisation of spiritual authority in the chair of S. Peter, and consciously striving to exalt the Papacy over Metropolitans and Bishops everywhere. The forms of Feudalism could be used[1], as he saw, to enable the Pope to bring pressure to bear in favour of spiritual

ministers, so that "godly ministers who have or shall have wife or children may not too much be taken off their duties in the ministry with the care and consideration for their wives and children after their decease."

[1] Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, II. 289.

independence for all bishops and clergy; when King John received his realm as the Pope's man, the papal influence could be employed to restrain what the Pope regarded as secular encroachments in every part of the realm[1].

There is a curious irony in the fact that the effort to re-invigorate the spiritual life of the Church should have directly led to a Papal autocracy; and that Hildebrand's name should be, to so many men, the very type of an ecclesiastic who was striving for power and dignity, and purely secular objects. To some it will doubtless seem that any attempt to explain the movement of the time as genuinely spiritual is special pleading; at all events there is an apparent paradox. But herein lies a lesson which has, as we shall see[2], been very imperfectly learned; the spiritual cannot be wholly separated from the secular; it is through the secular, and by means of the secular, that the spiritual shows itself as effectively operating in this present evil world. By aiming at secular powers as a means of spiritual influence, Hildebrand led the way for those who afterwards grasped at secular power for its own sake. In other ways his very success contained the germs of subsequent failure. Every spiritual authority in this world is subject to limitations of time and space; none can lay down what is absolutely wise and right

[1] This important stand had been already taken in the Council at London in 1126, Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 408 (c. 4); also at Westminster in 1127, *Ib.* I. 410 (c. 9).

[2] See below, p. 80.

in mundane affairs; none can be justified in claiming to be supreme over all civil authority. The Papal autocracy soon discredited itself; and though the enthusiasm of the Jesuits rendered the Holy See a rallying-point in the era of the Counter-Reformation, it has never shaken itself free from the limitations of the age in which it rose into power. Bound to the political and philosophical thought of the thirteenth century, the Papacy cannot bridge the gulf, or get into touch with the aspirations and the intelligence of modern men.

4. THE EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION.

I.

THE English parochial system, as an organisation for the cure of souls, had suffered a series of severe blows in the later middle ages, and there was much room for improvement at the time of the Reformation. It is probably true that no guarantee for the efficiency of parish priests could be found apart from the discharge of their proper duties by the bishops[1]; and serious evil had arisen from the way in which religious houses interfered with episcopal administration[2], especially when they were themselves exempt from episcopal supervision[3]. But there were besides, other causes which had been injurious.

1. Much of the mischief had been directly due to papal action: Hildebrand had aimed at securing Church property against the depredations of lay

[1] *Constitutiones D. Othoboni*, tit. 21, in Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, II. 118.

[2] *Ib.* tit. 22, in Lyndewode, *op. cit.* II. 121; Ayliffe, *op. cit.* 88.

[3] This was remedied by 31 Henry VIII. c. 13, § 23.

magnates, but the result of his policy was to hand over parochial endowments to be the prey of his successors. In the thirteenth century Gregory IX found himself at his wits' end for resources in his struggle with Frederick II—a contest in which English sympathies lay very largely with the Emperor rather than with his antagonist[1]. The Pope managed to secure and reward his adherents in Rome[2], by conferring English benefices on men who seemed to possess few qualifications for the duties; one of these nominees could speak no English[3] and many of them were not in priests' orders[4]. This reckless disregard of the welfare of the parishioners roused the indignation of Robert Grosseteste the great Bishop of Lincoln. He was earnest in fulfilling his own duties as a bishop[5], frequent in preaching and diligent in visiting the clergy of his large diocese, and he had a high ideal of the work of a parish priest[6]. The systematic intrusion of papal nominees he regarded with horror[7], as well as the impropriations by which the great monasteries had diverted to themselves the incomes intended for the parochial clergy, and become rich at the expense of the poor vicars[8]. His indictment of the papacy in his sermon at Lyons, and in his correspondence, is exceedingly strong; and it is important to remember that the mischievous interference with

[1] Matthew Paris, III. 609. [2] *Ib.* IV. 31.
[3] *Ib.* V. 227. [4] *Ib.* V. 279.
[5] *Ib.* V. 407.
[6] Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, *Constitutiones*, in Appendix VI. p. 315; *Epistolae* (edited by Luard), XIII, XXV, CXXX.
[7] Matthew Paris, V. 257. [8] *Ib.* V. 300.

the English parochial system was the wrong which roused his indignation so much.

2. The parochial system also suffered, not merely from the evils of the papal policy, but indirectly from the great religious movement of the twelfth century, since this tended to undermine its influence. S. Francis of Assisi and his friars were filled with an enthusiasm for humanity, that led them to adopt a life of poverty, and of close contact with the poor; life in the older monasteries, and even among the reformed orders, no longer impressed the world as one of complete personal devotion to Christ; while the rule adopted by the friars aimed at securing the closest likeness to the life of Christ and His disciples during His earthly ministry. To plain men, much of the Christianity of the day was above them, in the air, a thing of words and phrases; but the friars were the exponents of a real practical religion that all could appreciate and admire. Their convent in Cambridge was planted close to the town ditch in what is now Sidney Garden; the brethren found shelter in mud huts, and their church had no architectural pretensions; it was built by one carpenter in a single day[1]. That the order was soon infected by the secular spirit, and that many of them succumbed to the temptation to disparage other friars who were like themselves dependent on alms for their daily bread, comes out in Langland's poem; but enough of the original spirit survived to make

[1] Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, I., Preface xviii. n., xix.

them a real power. Their chief field of labour was among the neglected population of the towns; and living among the poor, and in a hand to mouth fashion like the poor, they soon obtained a very firm hold on the hearts of those among whom they worked, while they roused the admiration of other classes. Visiting the sick, and preaching the gospel to the poor, were the tasks they set themselves to do; in fact they took up the care of souls and thus intruded on the recognised duty of the parish clergy. The manner in which the work that they ought to have done was taken out of their hands did not, so far as we can hear, react favourably on the character of the parochial clergy or rouse them to greater zeal in doing their work; but there were constant causes of friction, since the friars were often licensed to hear confessions[1] and engaged in preaching. Succeeding religious movements, such as that of the Lollards, also took shape outside the parochial system, which failed to become the vehicle of any of these new religious enthusiasms.

3. These were causes which continued to operate for long periods; but the parochial system was also subjected to a severe shock by the pestilence which visited England in the middle of the fourteenth century. The Black Death seems to have swept away about half of the population; and it is hardly possible to exaggerate the effect it must have had

[1] Matt. Paris, III. 333; *Jack Upland* in Wright's *Political Songs*, II. 22; Richard of Armagh, *Defensorium Curatorum* in E. Brown, *Fasciculus*, II. 467; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, II. 113.

upon social institutions of every kind, and on parochial endowments. But the most serious thing was the loss of men, and the impossibility of supplying their posts satisfactorily. During the actual prevalence of the plague, there was great difficulty in providing for the visitation of the sick[1], and as the scare passed away, it proved impossible to secure a resident clergy on the old terms[2]; as a consequence it appears that religious ordinances were supplied for a time by itinerant clergy. This is symptomatic of a state of disorganisation, and the current complaints seem to show that there was no general recovery in the first half of the fifteenth century[3]. We hear, in Wycliffe's time, of parish churches being allowed to fall into decay, while the friars were erecting magnificent buildings[4]; and the blight, which fell on many of the rural districts with the progress of sheep farming, seems to have affected the churches[5] as well as the farm houses. In the middle of the fifteenth century Bishop Pecock published his *Repressor of over much blaming the clergy*, a book in which he aims at showing that the complaints are overstated; but he does not attempt to indicate any signs of vigorous religious life. Still, at this date the old ideals were being set forward in a fresh form.

[1] See the documents quoted by Gasquet, *Great Pestilence*, 81, 105.

[2] 36 Edward III. st. i. c. 8.

[3] V. Redstone, in *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.* XVI. 164.

[4] J. Lewis, *Life of Pecock*, 97.

[5] For the case of Stretton Baskerville see Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 36.

John Myrk's *Instructions to Parish Priests*[1] are simple and explicit directions to the clergy. Things were probably past the worst in the latter half of the fifteenth century when so many of the Cambridge Colleges were founded to be places of clerical training, where the students were to be encouraged to devote themselves to Theology, rather than to Canon Law. Many ecclesiastical buildings were certainly put in order, and the amount of perpendicular work in the churches of England makes it clear that there were many parishioners who were lavish in their care of the parish churches. But much was still needed to re-invigorate the parochial system so that it should really meet the religious needs of the people. In England, as in other countries, the movements for Reformation were in part actuated by a desire to secure, both among bishops and parish priests, increased effort for the cure of souls.

This comes out very clearly in the proceedings of the Council of Trent. In the sixth session decrees were passed against the non-residence of prelates and of parish priests[2], and in the twenty-third session pains were taken to insist on the responsibilities of the parochial clergy. "It is enjoined by divine command on all to whom the cure of souls is committed, that they should know their own sheep (S. John x. 14, xxi. 15–17) and offer the sacrifice for them, and feed them by the preaching of the divine word, by ministering the sacraments and by

[1] *Early English Text Society*, Vol. xxxi.
[2] Sess. vi. cc. 1 and 2, pp. 33 and 36.

setting an example in all good works; and that they should also take fatherly care of the poor and other distressed persons. But these duties cannot be discharged and fulfilled by those who do not watch over and stand by their own flesh but flee from them like hirelings[1]." Even those who do not accept the theology of the Tridentine Fathers may recognise the wisdom they showed in grappling with practical evils, and appreciate the value of their action in insisting on a higher standard of pastoral duty.

II.

In England there was a widespread feeling in regard to the episcopate; it was a complaint of long standing that the bishops were so much occupied with secular duties, and failed to devote themselves heartily to the oversight of their flocks. It certainly was true that the great offices of state were often entrusted to bishops, and their political and diplomatic duties must have taken up much time that might have been given to spiritual work; and this had been carried to such an extent as to be a serious abuse. At the same time, we may remember two things which account for the growth of this practice.

In the first place, political affairs and the good government of the realm are matters of vast importance; the welfare of multitudes turns upon them; and it is a Christian duty to bring the sense of responsibility to God to bear on the affairs of political

[1] Sess. xxiii. c. 1, p. 178.

and municipal life. In democratic countries this can be done by diffusing a sense of the duty of being a good citizen; in medieval monarchies, it was by the personal influence of their servants that kings could be guided, and reminded that they were entrusted with the power they wielded, and bound to try to use it for the good of their subjects. It was in this way that such men as Richard Bishop of London or Nicholas Bishop of Lisieux felt themselves called on to devote their best attention to the finances of the realm.

But there was another reason; there is too little public spirit in our day, but in England in the middle ages it was scarcely developed at all; the special interests of particular localities, and the organised interests of certain classes were apt to be supreme. But great pains had been taken in the policy of Hildebrand to cut the clergy off from ordinary family interests, and to make them habitually realise their responsibility to God for the manner in which they discharged their duties. The very detachment of the clergy from other classes of society, marked them out as men who were not actuated by quite the ordinary motives. The baron or lay official would hope to found a family; the clerk might aim at honours or highly paid posts for himself, but not so much for those who would come after him. Hence, in so far as they took office in civil affairs the clergy might be expected to bring a higher standard into political administration; not a few, who came from their ranks, justified the confidence placed in them by

their public-spirited administration. In the time of Charles I, when the crown was badly served, in its admiralty affairs at any rate, it is easy to understand that the King would be glad to rely on the help of such ministers as Laud and Juxon. It is also easy to see that place-hunters would be jealous of ecclesiastics who obtained coveted civil employment, and that courtiers were not unwilling to join in the attacks made on the King's episcopal councillors.

1. Many of the critics believed that the episcopal office was in itself indefensible; this had been the view of Wycliffe, who held that Scripture only recognised two orders, bishops or elders, and deacons[1]; and that the rise of a diocesan episcopate had been an abuse. As to the fact that the scriptural evidence in regard to the local ministry shows that there were several bishops and several deacons in each city, there need be no dispute; the real issue was as to the principle whether nothing was to be permitted in the Church which could not be directly proved from Scripture. This was the Lollard principle[2]; it has been accepted in the *Articles* as a negative rule with reference to the beliefs which are necessary to salvation, but there is no good reason for applying the principle as a positive guide to church organisation. Pecock, like Hooker[3], held that it was by no means necessary to condemn practices, or an administrative system, which was not enjoined in Scripture. The

[1] Wycliffe, *Dial.* IV. c. 15; Lewis, *Life of Pecock*, 82.
[2] Gairdner and Stebbing, *Studies in English History*, 30, 296.
[3] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, III. iii., iv.

Lollard principle was attractive by its apparent simplicity; and, partly through the force of circumstances, the principle of two Orders only was adopted, both by Lutherans and Calvinists, at the Reformation. The episcopate was not retained in Protestant Germany, among the Huguenots in France or in Scotland; and for about twenty years it was suppressed in England, so far as the *de facto* civil powers could enforce their decisions. This change in the traditional constitution of the Church had many far-reaching consequences; it was necessary to find a new unit of organisation when the diocese was abandoned. On the one hand we have the conception of National Churches which was borrowed from the Old Testament and adopted by Presbyterians. The controversy, as to the relation of the spiritual and temporal power in the same area, had been settled so far as medieval monarchies were concerned, but it broke out again in Scotland; the newly organised ecclesiastical system, on democratic lines, had constant difficulty in recognising the claims of constituted civil authority. In England, where the traditional arrangement between Church and State has been on the whole maintained, the cry of spiritual independence has only been raised occasionally, when encroachments were made by the Crown in the time of James II or by the Long Parliament[1]. Among those protestants, with whom the conception of a national church did not find acceptance, the

[1] On other differences, see below, p. 213.

congregation of worshippers could be taken as a unit or at least as an aggregate of individual believers, and the questions as to the relation of these composite units to one another, and whether they could be thought of as building up one Catholic and Apostolic Church, presented grave difficulty. In either case it was difficult to preserve the sense of mission, and of a pastoral responsibility conferred by a spiritual authority, in so far as the ministers were imposed by civil authority, or obtained their position through the choice of the congregation.

2. In England there was only a temporary triumph of the Lollard principle: at the Restoration, the Church resumed the ancient constitution and the surviving bishops returned to their sees, but the Great Rebellion had driven home the lesson which generations of satire and scathing criticism had failed to inculcate. Wycliffe, and the Mar-Prelate tracts[1] and the Parliamentary Party had protested against the practice of employing bishops in the administration of the realm; and at the Restoration care was taken not to revert to a system which had given so much offence. Clarendon would have been bitterly opposed to any step of the kind; and such bishops as Cosin of Durham and Pattrick of Ely set an example of devoting themselves heart and soul to their spiritual responsibilities. The freeing of the episcopate from the temptation to give themselves up too much to civil administration and political

[1] Arber, English Scholar's Library, *Introduction to Marprelate Controversy*, p. 20, and *Epistle*, p. 5.

offices[1], is the one great boon which has accrued to the Anglican Church from her bitter experience and the suffering of her clergy in the seventeenth century.

III.

It has been convenient to follow this thread into the seventeenth century, but we must return to the early part of the sixteenth to trace the changes which took place in regard to the discharge of their responsibilities by the parochial clergy. There is a good deal of literary evidence on this subject; three works, published within a decade, have put on record the ideals which three Archbishops were trying to set before their clergy in Scotland, Germany and England. The comparison with other countries will at least help to give more precision to our knowledge of the steps that were taken in the Anglican Church.

The *Catechism* which John Hamilton, Archbishop of S. Andrews, issued in 1552, illustrates the principles of a conservative reform, like that of the Council of Trent, and gives an excellent statement of the traditional views; while it breathes a spirit of fervent piety. "We exhort you, all that are parsons of churches, which have received upon you the care of souls, what degree or name soever ye have, that ye would apply your diligence to do your office, that is to say to teche and preche sincerely the evangel of God to your own parishioners as ye are obliged to do

[1] The appointment of Bishop Robinson of Bristol to be plenipotentiary at the Congress of Utrecht, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal, was an anachronism even in the time of Queen Anne.

by the law of God, and Holy Church. And trow not that this book shall discharge you before God from execution of your aforesaid office, for truly it is not set out to that intention, neither to give to you any baldness or occasion of negligence or idleness. Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God, and for the love that ye have or should have to the bitter passion of Christ Jesus our Saviour, whose spiritual flock, bought with His own precious blood ye have taken to keep and feed, that ye fail not to do your office, each one of you, to your own parishioners[1]." This eloquent appeal is a fair example of the earnest tone which pervades the work; it incites to the due ministration of the sacramental system, and lays special stress on the sacrament of penance[2], and on the duty of "devoutly offering to God sacrifice and other gifts" for the departed[3]. In these points the catechism of the Archbishop of S. Andrews contrasts strikingly with the almost contemporary work of reform in which Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, engaged. His *Consultation* sets forth the lines on which he unsuccessfully attempted in 1543[4] to infuse his clergy with Lutheran principles. He repudiated the current idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist[5], and though the practice of private confession was retained, the doctrine of repentance was considerably modified[6]. This treatise, which was translated into

[1] *The Catechism of John Hamilton*, edited by T. G. Law, 289.
[2] *Ibid.* 215. [3] *Ibid.* 286.
[4] Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, II. i. 41.
[5] *A simple and religious consultation* (1548), f. 188 b.
[6] *Ibid.* f. 219.

English, was favourably received by many of the reformers, though it failed to satisfy the men of extreme Genevan sympathies[1]. But much had already been done at the time it was published to modify parochial duty in accordance with its tenets: the practice of providing for long-continued or perpetual intercession for the departed was abolished, in spite of Sir Thomas More's protest in the *Supplication of Souls*; and spiritual persons, beneficed with cure, were forbidden to take any stipend or salary to sing for any soul[2]; while the necessity and desirability of confession were freely discussed.

With these contemporary works it is interesting to compare the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, embodying as it does the aims of Archbishop Cranmer. It is clear that he followed Archbishop Hermann's *Consultation* very closely in matters in dispute among reformers; an opportunity for confession is offered to all parishioners at Easter, and special stress is laid upon it in the *Visitation of the Sick*; this renders it more noticeable that sacrificial language was carefully retained in the Communion Service. The portion of the Prayer Book, which is most instructive in regard to the duties of the parish priest, is the *Ordinal*; the questions to the candidates for the priesthood, and the addresses on the duties of the office, lay stress on pastoral functions; and in

[1] Strype, *Annals*, II. i. 193.

[2] Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* IV. 133; 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13. This mode of augmenting a living had been regarded with disfavour for a long time. Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 636, 706.

particular the duty of teaching comes to the forefront. This is a point on which all three Archbishops insist alike; and the *Catechism* in the Prayer Book supplies an admirable manual for teaching children their religion, and thus preparing them for Confirmation. Indeed the Prayer Book has commended itself to many generations of Englishmen as supplying a model on which men engaged in secular callings may frame their habits so as to live religiously. It sets up a standard for devotion for every day, and for special seasons; it holds up a rule of temperate living, and provides services for all the principal incidents of life. The Reformation in England under Cranmer's guidance was a re-assertion of the duty of pastoral care[1], on which Hamilton had insisted; though it discountenanced the methods to which so much attention had been given for many generations. Intercession for the departed[2], and personal dealing with consciences through the hearing of confessions[3], had been the principal methods of caring for souls, and at the Reformation these were allowed to drop into the background in the Anglican system. But the old responsibility remains, to be discharged in other fashions. Cranmer laid very special stress on

[1] Under Edward VI, Elizabeth and James I some Lutherans and other foreign Protestants were admitted to capitular and academic posts, but benefices with cure of souls were not conferred on any but episcopally ordained ministers. Frere, *The English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, 126, 193.

[2] This was also provided for as part of public worship in the Burial Service in the First Prayer Book.

[3] Compare Baxter's opinion on this practice, *Gildas Salvianus*, 322.

that which had been much neglected, the duty of instruction. From his time onward the English Parish Priest has been called on to provide the opportunities for worship and instruction which the Prayer Book recognises, and to strive by precept and example to influence his people to frame their lives in accordance with its requirements. The almost entire disuse of ecclesiastical discipline, since Elizabethan times, has rendered it impossible, even if it were desirable, to insist on any religious obligations on the part of the laity as things to be enforced authoritatively; but there is still the duty to urge men to adopt a definite rule of Christian life for themselves, and to encourage them to live up to it.

IV.

No similar provision was made either in the Lutheran or the Calvinistic Churches; and the very idea of responsibility to God for the care of a portion of His flock, apart from the duty of preaching, appears to have been almost lost. This followed to some extent from the changes in ordination and institution; and also among Calvinists from the disuse of Confirmation, so that the parish clergy were not called upon to instruct the children before presenting them to the bishop. Scotch Calvinists failed to create a Theocratic Polity, but they were very successful in making the family a unit of religious life, and especially in treating it as the appropriate sphere for religious training. The Presbyterian minister was

not expected to catechise in church, but to insist that Christian parents should teach their children the Catechism at home. The Scotch Acts of Assembly, especially that of 1708, make the distinction clear; but whatever advantages there may be in the Scotch system, where it is applicable, the direct relationship of the parish minister with the children came to be of the slightest.

The diminished scope of pastoral care was also connected with the new theological teaching. Luther had been repelled by the current religious practice, and protested that something deeper was required than mere participation in religious observances; he insisted on the subjective side, and urged that there must be faith in the individual mind. And this doctrine, when caught up and exaggerated, tended to make men think that their religion was to be merely a subjective thing, private to themselves; and that its essence and truth depended on their personal convictions. In so far as religion is thought of and treated as a man's own affair, there is little room either for teaching, or guidance, or reproof; the attempt to discharge any pastoral care over such an one must necessarily be resented as an impertinence. When its implications are followed out logically it may be seen that this attitude of mind really involves a rejection of the claims of Christ, as well as of His Ministers; He professed to reveal truth to mankind and to give us the means of participating in a Divine Life. Those who believe that in Him Divine Truth has been given to the world,

and that all men everywhere ought to listen to it, to try to live by it, and thus to prove it in their own experience, will not hesitate to exercise their vocation, because men question their claims and reject their message.

Genevan doctrine supplied still less incentive for pastoral care: the essence of the religious life was placed by Calvin, not in subjective acceptance of God's grace, but in the divine decree—the election of some and the reprobation of others. In this system of thought there is very little room for human co-operation; the preacher will play the part of the prophet to declare the divine will, and to warn men of the danger of disregarding it, but then he has delivered his soul and his responsibility ends. There was a duty for authorities, in the Calvinistic scheme, to strive to regulate society in accordance with the divine will; to punish vice, and to shame the sinner. But there was little incentive to try to influence the inner man, and to foster good desires and aspirations. The preachers had little fear of breaking the bruised reed and quenching the smoking flax, and of discouraging diffident and burdened souls, for Calvinism gloried in hard sayings. It is enough for us to note that in so far as these doctrines spread, they left less and less room for ministerial activity in dealing personally with individual souls, and that there was a tendency to underrate and eventually to ignore the importance of pastoral work. This ministerial function has so far died out of the cognisance of many modern scholars

as an element in Christian life in the present day, that they have been apt to overlook it in the story of primitive times[1]. In England, the revived sense of the importance of caring for souls, individually and personally, appeared in circles where extreme Calvinistic doctrine failed to penetrate. Those clergy in the early seventeenth century, who were most zealous in pastoral duty, were in danger of being denounced as Arminians. And the one great effort to provide for the care of souls, severally and individually, which took shape in England outside the parochial system was organised by John Wesley, who was as strongly opposed to Luther's solifidianism as he was to the determinism of Calvin.

[1] See above, p. 20.

5. PURITAN TENDENCIES.

THE position of the episcopate was, as we have seen, a subject of much controversy in the seventeeth century; the bishops took such a prominent part in political life, that they came to be involved in all the disputes between the Crown and the House of Commons, and were an object of attack by many who had no strong feeling on purely religious questions. It is impossible to dip, however casually, into the story of the times without feeling the importance which the question as to the existence and powers of the episcopate assumed in the public mind. The closely allied question, as to the position and responsibilities of the parish priest, has, however, been for the most part passed over in silence. But a very little consideration will at least show that it deserves to be closely studied; we may perhaps find in it a clue to the great ecclesiastical problem of the century. Nothing in the story of these times is more remarkable than the extraordinary revulsion of feeling which took place between 1640 and 1660. In the Long Parliament, Anglicanism was distinctly unpopular; so far as we can judge, Presbyterian

sentiments were very generally accepted; and the proceedings of Laud, in which the civil and ecclesiastical functions were not clearly distinguished in the public mind, roused bitter indignation; while on the other hand the claims of the clergy were strongly maintained by the King. At the time of the Restoration all this is changed; the King was no longer personally interested in the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the English Church; he has been suspected of readiness to undermine them. On the other hand, the Long Parliament of the Restoration showed an extraordinary enthusiasm for Anglicanism; it passed the Clarendon Code; it viewed even Presbyterians, who were loyal to the principle of Monarchy, with intense suspicion; and excluded from parochial responsibilities all those who would not accept episcopal ordination and conduct services according to the Book of Common Prayer. In this elected assembly there seems to have been quite as much enthusiasm for the Restoration of the Episcopal Church and the Prayer Book as for the return of the King. To what was this extraordinary revulsion of feeling due?

It is commonly accounted for on the supposition that the Puritan regime was too pure and noble for a wicked world, and that the elements of drunkenness and licence succeeded in overthrowing the men who were struggling to uphold Christian truth and to insist on righteousness of life. To what extent such influences may have been at work, it is, at this distance of time, idle to dispute; to me it appears

that they were quite unimportant. But all I am concerned to point out is that they were not the sole influence at work; during these twenty years the change which had taken place under the Puritan regime in the condition of the Parish Clergy must have been felt in every part of England and Wales; and their experience had tended to alienate the minds of moderate men from the Puritan side, and to make them feel that they must after all look to Anglicanism for the preservation of Christian teaching and ordinances, as they had learned to value them.

I.

In order to gauge the precise nature and influence of Puritan tendencies, it is convenient to contrast the forces which were working in an opposite direction. As to the evils of the time there was a general agreement; the differences arose over the sort of remedy which it was possible to apply. Roman Catholics felt that amid all the divisions of Protestants, and the intrusion of Court and Parliamentary influence in religious matters, the only hope for the preservation of Christianity lay in a return to Roman allegiance: the Counter-Reformation was in full swing all over Western Europe, and it seemed to have much success in England. The plain man, suspicious of the inroads of Popery on religious and political life, was inclined to go to an opposite extreme, and to adopt the Lollard principle in regard to the doctrine and organisation of the Church. But there were also

some who, dreading Popery and grieving over the disorders in the Church, yet had a genuine enthusiasm for the Prayer Book and the constitution of the Anglican Church. They found that it gave the support they looked for in their own religious life; they believed that it gave scope for the patriotic aims of their countrymen, and for the fulfilment of the destiny of England. They were eager to carry out the system of the Church as thoroughly as possible in England, and to maintain and plant similar religious ordinances wherever Englishmen might fare and settle on sea or land.

How widely this Anglican enthusiasm extended it is impossible to say; it is not likely that it embraced more than a minority of the clergy, and a very small proportion of the laity; but there can be no question as to the intensity of the convictions among those who cherished it. If we look, not to the wranglings in Parliament, but to the monuments of religious life, we see how deeply rooted it was. It finds expression in the writings of such bishops as Andrewes, Cosin, Taylor and Hall; and the duties of a parish priest were exemplified in the story and in the *Country Parson* of George Herbert. But perhaps the most striking illustration of the habits of life it produced is to be seen in the Ferrars family, and their connections. The household at Little Gidding was carefully organised to carry on ordinary secular duties, but in a spirit of consecration; with frequent opportunities for devotion, and in conscious fellowship with Christians of other ages. Nor should we forget that this

Anglican enthusiasm showed itself, not merely in the observance of rules for cultivating a devout spirit, but in active effort to plant and propagate Christianity wherever English influence might extend. This desire was keenly felt by Francis Drake, the pioneer of English Empire in the West[1], and had a prominent place in the minds of the founders of the Virginia Company. The Anglican sentiment was both historical and expansive.

Puritanism, as distinguished from Presbyterianism, was in earnest in seeking to carry the principles of the Reformation to their logical conclusion and to eradicate all that had brought about the corruption of the Church. To rely on the Papacy, and return to an allegiance which had been repudiated at the Reformation, they regarded as the most terrible sinning against the light—a veritable apostasy; and all the evil in the Church—the laxity and indifference—seemed to them to be due to the connivance of ecclesiastical and civil authorities. They felt that ecclesiastical dignities were inconsistent with spirituality of religion, and they sought to organise a religious life from which the jarring elements should be wholly absent. Puritanism, in its strict sense, repudiated the very idea of a National Church, with many merely nominal members, which was retained in the Presbyterian as much as in the Anglican system. The Independents and Baptists aimed at building up churches which should be really pure, because consisting exclusively of members who were thoroughly

[1] See below, p. 129.

devout men. They were in earnest about the individualism which had been implied in the doctrine of Luther about faith, and still more in that of Calvin about election[1]. For them individual religion was the essence of religion: the Church was of no account except in so far as it consisted of an aggregate of spiritually minded men. The individual was the ultimate unit, and he could associate himself with other Christian individuals, so as to form a church, or congregation; this view as to the nature of the church accentuated the tendencies which were already at work to depreciate the importance of any attempts to exercise a care of souls. If the church was composed of real Christians, the pastor had no mission to them, no responsibility for them; he was simply employed by them to expound the truth they had accepted, and to put it before them afresh. It was also true that this system, which was inconsistent with the principle of assigning territorial districts[2], could be represented as being a return to a time of primitive purity; it had analogies with the Church in the days of persecution, when it was by force of circumstances thrown in upon itself[3]; but this attempt to copy the superficial characteristics of the early church was really an abandonment of the spirit of primitive times. The worship and administration of the Early

[1] See above, p. 72.

[2] On the difficulties arising from this difference between the Presbyterians and Independents, compare W. A. Shaw, *History of English Church*, 1640–60, II. 132.

[3] See above, p. 29.

Church was collectivist in character; the first Christians had an intense feeling of the existence of an Universal Church and recognised that they, as members, were merely sojourning in a particular city; they would have repudiated the opinion that the city church was built up by the association of Christians in any city, and that the Church Universal was built up by the federation of the separate churches of each city[1]. For them, the one Church, which Christ had founded, was planted in city after city; for the Puritans, a church was not planted; it was gathered, where two or three Christians agreed to meet together for mutual edification. This intense individualism, with its consequence in the attempt to form churches that were uncontaminated by the world, was the inspiring motive in the minds of the Brownists and other Puritans of the strictest sort. They were the men who first sought a refuge from the laxity and ecclesiastical pretensions of the National Church of England in Holland, and later in New England, and who at the time of the Commonwealth felt that the opportunity had come for giving effect to their ideas in England and Wales.

II.

There were two ways in which the influence of Presbyterianism and of Puritanism during the period from 1640 to 1660 would arouse public opinion throughout the country generally, and force moderate

[1] Sohm, *op. cit.* 21.

men to range themselves on the side of the Anglicanism which they had viewed unsympathetically, or even with suspicion and antagonism, in the days of Laud. Presbyterianism was ruthless in trampling on the English historic sentiment in matters of religion, and Puritanism made very little provision for the cure of souls. In both aspects the new ecclesiastical order was repugnant to the common sense of the ordinary well-to-do Englishman.

1. The Lollard principle[1] of rejecting everything in church organisation, or worship, which could not be proved to be commanded in Holy Writ, was inconsistent with any respect for hallowed traditions of long standing. The ordinary Englishman had been brought up to regard Christmas as a commemoration of our Lord's birth, and Easter Day as a Festival of His resurrection; and it must have been a shock to have the observance of Pasch and Yule prohibited on the ground that there was no certain warrant for them in Holy Writ. In the same way the liturgical tradition which had been revised at the Reformation, with the practice of receiving the Communion kneeling, was denounced, and the attitude which was suitable to an ordinary meal was insisted upon as scriptural. The practice of having service at the interment of the dead was also prohibited, and it must have been a source of distress to many people to have their dead committed to the grave without religious rites. The abandonment of the traditional service at marriage, and the substitution of a civil ceremony, was

[1] See above, p. 64.

less painful, but may also have been very distasteful. All these changes followed as the direct consequences of ordinances of the House of Commons, and without the semblance of ecclesiastical authority in regard to them.

There must also have been an immense amount of local indignation of which no record has been preserved. The pride of each parish in its possessions is still strong, and there is reason to believe that it was far stronger in bygone times. A village with a good peal, and a company of trained ringers, would strongly resent the silencing of its bells. So too there is a local pride in stained glass or any other ornaments, to which the villagers have always been accustomed. Apart from a few fanatics here and there, there would be very general indignation at the ruthless destruction by Will. Dowsing of the costly and beautiful things in which parishioners took a legitimate pride. Many moderate men would be disgusted at seeing Parliamentary soldiers "tearing and burning the Books of Common Prayer in every place where they come[1]."

[1] The *Souldier's Catechisme* justifies this practice by asserting that the prayer book of Elizabeth, as well as crosses and images, was a monument of superstition and idolatry. "Much," it answers, "may be said in their justification who show themselves so zealous against that booke. 1. It hath been the fomentor of a most lazie, lewd and ignorant Ministry. 2. It hath been the Nurse of that lamentable blindnesse and ignorance which hath overspread many parts of this kingdom. 3. It is a great cause of our present calamities, for who are they that side with our Popish Enemies, but Common Prayer men? 4. It is become the most abominable Idoll in the land, people generally do doat upon it, as much as the

2. The Puritans were apt to disparage the duty of pastoral care, as unnecessary and superstitious, and they were in consequence not inclined to respect the property that had been assigned for maintaining it. The most sweeping changes in this respect were effected in Wales. An Act was passed by the House of Commons on February 22, 1649[1], for the better propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and commissioners were appointed to put it into operation. By these commissioners nearly the whole of the parish clergy were ejected from their livings, and a revenue which was admittedly more than £9000 a year was set free for religious and educational purposes. Some hundreds of parishes in Wales were deprived of a resident minister of any sort, and the propagation of the Gospel was carried on by itinerant preachers only. There was no considerable number of them, so that on the average each parish could have but one sermon in two months; and only about half the money which passed through their hands seems to

Ephesians upon *Diana*; and prefer it before Preaching in many places, being strangely inraged for the want of it. 5. It is high time therefore to remove this Brazen Serpent, and grinde it to powder, seeing it is the occasion of so much evill. 6. It is very likely therefore that God hath stirred up the spirits of some honest souldiers to be his Instruments for the destruction of that idol. 7. It belongs to the Parliament Souldiers, upon the matter, to remove all scandalous things they meet with, having covenanted and ingaged themselves in the work of Reformation," pp. 21, 22. Cromwell's *Souldier's Catechisme* was issued by the authorities in 1644; and was reproduced in facsimile by the Rev. Walter Begley in 1900.

[1] Scobell, *Collection*, II. 104.

have been accounted for by the commissioners[1]. The superseding of the parochial clergy by itinerant preachers was also attempted in Cornwall, in the four Northern Counties[2], and was proposed in the Little Parliament for the whole of England[3]. The Presbyterians had aimed at the substitution of an established church with two orders of ministers for an established church with three; but they would have retained a localised ministry and a territorial definition of responsibility. The Puritans saw no advantage in making such provision; they were ready to clear away, at one swoop, the whole system of a parochial clergy, which had been toilfully built up through long generations[4], and maintained for many centuries.

This wholesale tampering with ecclesiastical property, under the Commonwealth, must have caused far more resentment than the confiscation of monastic property by Henry VIII. It touched each parish more closely, and it took money out of the parish for unknown objects. After all, the monastic property went to the Crown; a small portion of it was used for educational purposes—such as the founding of Trinity College. But so far as contemporary observations went, it was difficult to see that any public benefit, either religious or educational, accrued, as a result of

[1] It is certain that pressure had to be exercised to obtain proper accounts, 1654, c. 59 and confirmed, 1656, c. 10; Scobell, II. pp. 365, 390.

[2] Scobell, *op. cit.* II. 116 (title quoted).

[3] Calamy, *Abridgement*, I. p. 68.

[4] See above, p. 38.

Puritan spoliation. It was abundantly clear that various members of Parliament had enriched themselves immensely by the purchase of church property on very easy terms, and to such a man as Milton[1] there appeared to be a rather unedifying scramble for private gain, with no thought of public good. The Puritan regime had violated the ordinary English sense of fair play both by depriving men of their benefices irregularly[2], and by allowing so much wealth, which was intended for public benefit, to fall into private hands. The Long Parliament of the Restoration set itself to restore the parochial system, in accordance with the law of the land; opinion had

[1] *History of England*, Book III in *Works* (1851) v. 95.

[2] A petition of "many thousands of the poor sequestered clergy of England and Wales" was sent to Sir T. Fairfax in 1647; it runs as follows: "Whereas your petitioners, a considerable number of the free-born men of this kingdom have been for diverse years outed of their livelihood and freeholds contrary to Magna Carta, and other fundamental laws of the land, by the arbitrary power of committees, whose proceedings usually have been by no rule of any known law, but by their own wills; of whose orders no record is kept, nor scarce any notes or memorials when, by whom, or for what your petitioners are removed; the committees for scandalous and for plundered ministers (by whom the greatest part are turned out not so much as upon any ordinance of both Houses); the most of your petitioners outed for refusing the Covenant, or adhering to the king and the religion established, according to their judgments and consciences; and of those diverse now called to answer, scarce one had any articles proved by oath or other legal process, and some put out upon private information given to the chairman Mr White; by which unheard of proceedings, not to be paralleled in any age, your petitioners who have lived heretofore in good esteem, according to their calling, degrees, births and education are reduced to extreme misery and want with their wives and children, that they must either starve or beg if some speedy course be not taken for their relief."

been rendered very sensitive as to the rights of the clergy by the agitation which had been raised in Parliament against the Court of High Commission; and it seemed intolerable that men should be deprived by the more drastic action of a more irregular Commission. The surviving Anglicans, who had been deprived of their livings by unconstitutional tribunals, were immediately reinstated, even though this involved the turning away of a large number of intruders, some of whom had occupied their positions for nearly twenty years.

For many of those who were thus turned out there was doubtless much sympathy; but to the ordinary lay mind it would be qualified by other considerations. The English laity are impressed by assiduity in visiting and other pastoral work, and gauge their clergy by this as much as by their pulpit ability; but as Baxter[1] himself noted with pain and regret, there had been a serious neglect of pastoral care even in parishes organised on a Presbyterian model. A deep impression must also have been made by the uncharitable attitude which had been taken by the Puritan clergy generally towards those whom they dispossessed. In turning out the malignant clergy, who would not accept the new regime, Parliament had allowed no compensation to the ejected clergy themselves. Very few of the two hundred men who were "outed" from their fellowships and other positions at Cambridge[2] could claim

[1] Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus* (1656), preface.
[2] Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 162.

redress or alleviation of any kind; but in the case of the parochial clergy who were married, Parliament held out hopes[1] that a fifth of the income of the benefice from which he was excluded might be paid to keep the wife and children of the parish priest from starvation. This was a payment which it was easy for the incoming minister to evade[2], and there seem to have been very many cases where the new incumbent did not choose to take a generous line, but refused to do anything whatever for the wife and children of the man whose living he occupied[3]. There can under the circumstances be little surprise if the Cavalier Parliament were ready to take the ordinances passed by Puritans in power as a model for the treatment they meted out to the Puritan ministers in turn. The provisions of the Clarendon Code are universally condemned as vindictive; the Court regarded this legislation as impolitic; John Earll, the Bishop of Salisbury, appears to have exercised a Christian spirit towards his fallen perse-

[1] The Ordinance of 19 August 1643 gave power to make an allowance (Husband, *Collection*, p. 299); the provision was definitely assigned eleven years later, 23 August 1654.

[2] Fuller, *Church History*, VI. 331.

[3] An interesting protest against the ordinance of 1654 which rendered the obligation definite will be found in the pamphlet entitled *General Reasons grounded on Piety, Charity, Justice and Equity against the defaulcation of a fift part of the Ministers maintenance, who beareth the whole burden of the Ministerial Function to any Parish or People*, by John Ley, Preacher of the Word of God at Brightwell in Berkshire 1655. He added special reasons for refusing to make any payments to the wife of his own predecessor in the living. For particular cases of hardship see Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, I. 103.

cutors, and the episcopate generally were not in favour of a stringent interpretation of the Act of Uniformity[1]; but the Cavalier Parliament insisted on repaying the intrusive clergy in their own coin, and striving to stamp out religious doctrines which had led to such grave disorder in Church and State.

It would thus appear that their experience of the Puritan regime was likely to alienate moderate men in every parish in England and to incline them to desire a restoration of the parochial system under episcopal supervision. But this is not really inconsistent with the evidence which Baxter and Calamy collected as to the character of many of the Puritan ministers, and their excellence as preachers. Good and earnest men are often tempted to judge themselves by special standards; the man who had the opportunity of exercising his gift as a preacher, might not look very critically at the strict formality of his title to enjoy the income of a benefice. If he disapproved of the habits and conduct of the wife and family of his predecessor, he would have little scruple in refusing them support. But men of great spiritual gifts and power as preachers who are not scrupulous in matters of legal right and Christian charity are likely to fail to commend the religion they profess to ordinary men.

The failure of Puritanism to provide the means of fostering religious life in England and Wales was complete; it had little more success in the chosen

[1] *Journals of House of Lords* (25 *July*, 1663), XI. 573; J. E. T. Rogers, *Protests of the Lords*, I. 29; also *Commons Journals*, VIII. 533.

home of the Pilgrim Fathers in the New World. Religion in America has been re-invigorated at times by Anglicans and Roman Catholics, by Presbyterians and Quakers and Methodists, but the Puritanism of New England has not been very fruitful, so far as the maintenance of simple Christian teaching is concerned. Individualistic religion accepts as axiomatic principles a mere caricature of the teaching of Christ and His apostles: in treating religion as an individual and private thing it has moved away altogether from the primitive standpoint.

It also puts forward a misleading principle of toleration, for all religious opinions, as if each were equally good for the man who holds it, and it was a matter of indifference what he believes. This is based on mere scepticism as to the possibility of attaining religious truth at all. The scriptural doctrine of toleration assures us that we may have such confidence in the inherent and prevailing power of that which is good that we do well to tolerate what we know to be evil; not because it is a matter of indifference, but because we, as men, do not trust our own powers for dealing with the tares of the field.

Individualistic religious doctrine urges that religion is a matter of indifference to the State[1]. On the other hand Christ and His apostles taught that it is involved in every part of state action; that the title of one man to exercise the power of life and death over others has been given by God, whether the magistrate is conscious of it or not; and that

[1] On *Religion and Political Life* see my *Wisdom of the Wise*, p. 91.

the more he is conscious of his responsibility to God, the less likely is he to be a mere time-server, on the one side, or a tyrant on the other.

Individualistic religion insists that the minds of children shall not be prejudiced in favour of any faith, but they shall be left free to take up any views they prefer when they are old enough to judge for themselves; but our Lord encouraged mothers to bring their children for His blessing.

Individualistic religion sets up a false standard for judging of the good and the bad of religious institutions; it appraises individuals as good or bad, according to some special feature which appears admirable; but our Lord taught us not to rely on our judgments of individuals at all. The aim He has set before His Church is that of permeating society, as a little leaven leavens the lump, of extending till the kingdoms of the world become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ; and the worthiness of His Church in any place or age or form is to be judged by the eagerness of its efforts to accomplish this aim and to bring men in every act of thought or will into subjection to their Master.

III.

The Anglican Church emerged from the experience of Puritan ascendancy with a better understanding of the work to which she has been called and a firmer determination to pursue it, since the episcopate has been under less temptation from secular ambitions

and employment about the Court; and the importance of pastoral care and the methods of exercising it in the conditions of modern life, have been more clearly set before the parochial clergy.

In modern times, since Descartes onwards, the importance of the thinking power of the individual mind has been recognised; *cogito ergo sum* is the accepted illustration of complete certainty. But in this intellectual sphere the mind is not left undisciplined and unguided; it is educated so that it may be able to enter into the heritage of thought and the accumulated experience of all the ages, and thus the mind is formed. So too in religious matters: personal religious conviction of sin and of forgiveness give the highest certainty; but religious insight and character may be formed, in so far as we can enter into the religious experience and the religious heritage of all the ages. In the religious sphere there is something which is lacking in the intellectual world; as Christians we believe that there is a perfect example of that which the religious man should be in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that we should aim at forming our own aims and desires on this model; but the experience of the Christian Church in all ages may be taken as a help and guide to show us how, amid changing circumstances, we may seek to appropriate the mind of Christ. Puritanism had started with the individual Christian as the unit—as the ultimate element in religious life; Anglicanism realised that behind this lies the problem as to the formation of the best, because the most Christian,

religious character. Puritanism taught Englishmen to despise their fathers in Christ; it had repudiated the monastic missionaries, and the medieval churchmen through whom Christian truth had been planted and maintained in this island; they were the synagogue of Satan. Anglicanism sought to preserve a conscious fellowship with the good in all ages.

This is the spirit in which the Caroline divines—and the Non-jurors who were cut off from parochial work—devoted themselves to theological study. It finds its most complete expression in the organisation of parochial care working under episcopal supervision; that system contains an element maintained from primitive times, in the sense of pastoral responsibility; it has borrowed its definiteness from the Roman organisation of the days of persecution; it obtained endowment through the long ages when the powers in Church and State were being constituted on a proprietary basis; it secured freedom from arbitrary civil interference through the stand which was taken by Hildebrand; and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it learned to discard the pretension of an authority to punish carelessness and immorality. The Church Courts fell into desuetude and Churchwardens were no longer expected to present offenders; the Anglican clergy were on the whole[1] content to exercise moral influence, while the Presbyterians insisted on forcing frail women to "stand

[1] There were occasional but not very successful efforts to revive the enforcing of discipline after the Restoration. Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 325.

the session," and the Puritans in New England were discrediting themselves by dealing with the Salem witches. There has been a constant effort to learn from experience, and to meet new difficulties; episcopal charges like those of Stillingfleet[1] have aimed at quickening the conception of pastoral responsibility, which is so deeply rooted in the Anglican formularies. It has proved to be both fruitful and inspiring during the last two hundred and fifty years. The importance attached to this aspect of ministerial office has been and is a special characteristic of the Anglican Communion; every age and every school of thought in the English Church has done much to insist on and to illustrate the sense of pastoral responsibility. Gilbert Burnet[2] and Thomas Wilson[3] in the eighteenth century, and Charles Bridges[4] and John William Burgon[5] in the nineteenth, were men who had singularly little in common, and yet there is a remarkable harmony, one might almost say unanimity, in their treatment of the main duties of the Christian minister. They are at least of one mind in setting a high value on the Prayer Book as a manual for the consecration of human life. The occasional offices supply suitable prayers for those great turning-points in life, which seem even to the most careless to be times of

[1] *Of the duties and rights of the parochial clergy* in *Works* (1710), 613—713.

[2] *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (3rd ed. 1713).

[3] *Parochalia* in *Works* (1781), I. 395—438.

[4] *The Christian Ministry* (1830).

[5] *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office* (1864).

solemnity; the regular routine of daily prayers and frequent celebrations supplies a model of the habits which devout Christians are urged to cultivate. In the round of the Church's seasons, the whole circle of Christian doctrine is covered so that instruction may be both varied and complete. It is the plain duty of the parish priest to try to make this scheme a living reality.

But more than this—these writers have all been at one in looking at Christ Himself as the Chief Pastor to Whom all ordained ministers are directly and personally responsible—to Whom they must give an account—and as not merely an Example, but as the one Model for their imitation. He has Himself extolled the life of service—the readiness to give up time and to take trouble to bear the burdens of others; *He came among us as one who serves.* He showed Himself entirely devoted to the task entrusted to Him—*The Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep.* It is only as men are touched by a sense of responsibility to the Chief Pastor, and fired by His example, that they can rise at all to the discharge of duty in the cure of souls.

6. THE PARISH AUTOCRAT.

Our hasty survey of the history of the Anglican Church has brought us to the eighteenth century, a period when a blight fell upon church work both in its evangelistic and pastoral aspects. We may now pass on to take stock of the tendencies which have been at work in recent times. The most superficial observer of things ecclesiastical cannot fail to note the wonderful expansion of the English Church during the last one hundred and fifty years. The work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been hampered by unfavourable political conditions since its incorporation in 1701; but at the close of the eighteenth century, there was a great awakening to the sense of a duty to preach the Gospel to the natives of India and Africa; and the Church Missionary Society also started on a vigorous career of evangelisation. It is to be noticed, moreover, that this outburst of zeal to spread the Gospel has synchronised with an increased recognition of the

importance and responsibility of pastoral work. This is shown, not only in the effort to provide episcopal organisation, and therefore pastoral responsibility, in all the lands where evangelisation is going on, but by many new features in the Anglican Church at home.

I.

Perhaps no single individual contributed more to the development of pastoral activity in the Church at home than Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London. He was keenly conscious of the failure of the Church to adapt herself to the requirements of the times, and especially to the new distribution of population resulting from the Industrial Revolution[1]. In his own diocese he did an immense amount to repair previous neglect by establishing the Bishop of London's Fund; but far more important for England generally was the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission[2] of which the avowed object was "to devise the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy in their respective benefices." This measure gave the necessary flexibility, so far as Church property was concerned, for augmenting many poor livings in populous places; while additional powers for creating new ecclesiastical districts were conferred on the commissioners by Sir R. Peel in 1843[3]. There

[1] The government of the day attempted to remedy the most obvious deficiencies by building additional churches in 1818. Hansard, *Debates*, XXXVII. 3, 1110.

[2] 5 and 6 W. IV, c. 20. 6 and 7 W. IV, c. 77.

[3] 6 and 7 Victoria, c. 37.

was much personal beneficence on behalf of these objects, and voluntary efforts also took shape in new organisations such as the Pastoral Aid Society, and the Additional Curates Society. The *Report on the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction and Places of Divine Worship*[1] in populous districts, which was prepared by a Committee of the House of Lords in 1858, shows both the gigantic nature of the task, and the progress that had already been made in grappling with it. Along with this increase of the facilities for pastoral work, in the places where it was most needed, there were many signs of a revived sense of responsibility and a higher ideal of pastoral duty, which was shown not only in the issue of manuals for the use of the clergy in visiting, in preparing candidates for Confirmation[2], and in other departments of clerical duty, but also in the lives of such individual men as Prebendary Sadler and Walter Hook, the Vicar of Leeds. The Evangelical Revival had given a great impulse to foreign missions, the Anglican Revival imparted fresh vigour to pastoral work at home.

Since so much effort has been recently expended on the multiplication of parochial charges, it is worth while to call attention to the remarkable position of dignity and independence which the English parish priest enjoys. He is, first of all, recognised by the law of the land as the minister of Christ, responsible within a given area for the cure of souls; he is also

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1857–8, IX.

[2] H. Newland, *Confirmation and First Communion* (1853).

a civil official, charged with the duty of performing and registering some of the most important transactions in the community, especially marriages. Even though his living be very poor, he is an independent man; his income is his own; it is not, like that of a man in business or in any other profession, directly dependent on his success in his calling; and more than this, he can, for the most part, arrange his time, and divide his day among the various calls upon him, exactly as he likes. This independence, and freedom in regard to his own time, is characteristic, in many minds, of the status of a gentleman. Farther, he in all probability has, through education and breeding, personal claims on the respect of a large number of his parishioners, who have not enjoyed the same advantages. So far as status and independence goes, the English parish priest occupies a position that is unique among clergy generally, or among the ministers of other denominations; and in so far as he misuses this position, he is not unlikely to become a Parish Autocrat. It is a danger which all parish clergy will do well to keep before them; if I venture after twenty years as a parish priest to press home this warning, it is because I feel that I have learned something by experience, for every man may learn much from his own failures; and no words can serve better to distinguish the attitude of mind which it is well to watch against and the habits which it is desirable to cultivate than the apostolic maxim, *Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.*

There are two attitudes of mind with which a man may habitually regard any position he attains among his fellow men; he may stand upon his rights, or he may be impressed by his responsibilities; broadly and on the whole, to stand upon his rights is a manifestation of the secular spirit,—for the Christian minister it is wrong; while it is emphatically right that he should set himself to realise and to live up to the responsibilities which his privileges entail, and strive to make the most of the opportunities his position gives him for helping men to serve God better.

There are, of course, many cases where a man is not only justified in standing on his rights, but where he ought to do so. When a public duty is involved, and he is personally the guardian of some public interest, he is bound to stand upon his rights; even if it gives rise to irritation and offence. An incumbent may be bound to stand upon his rights as a proprietor of glebe land, since he is a trustee for all his successors; he must not get an undeserved reputation for generosity through the disregard of their interests. An incumbent may be well advised in refusing to allow mourners to erect a monument or place an inscription that is highly offensive to others who pass through the churchyard. And it may often be difficult to distinguish and see how far public interests are or are not involved; only a man should make sure for himself that he is really actuated by a care for the public good; for standing on his own rights, or his own dignity, personally and privately, is inconsistent with the conception of service. The man

who is always explaining that people should show respect to his office, and touch their hats to him—or welcome him to their houses at all times—however busy they may be, or who insists that he must take the chair at all parish gatherings of every kind[1], is after all only grasping at the shadow of authority, and is in serious danger of losing the reality of power, through his punctiliousness. As the late Dean Vaughan once said, *Remember, where authority ceases, influence begins.* The man who insists on taking an attitude of authority is often guilty of raising up a barrier against his power of exercising influence. And if this is so, as regards the mistake of standing on the dignity of his office, it is still less excusable if he demands subservience on account of his personal qualities of breeding or education. It is difficult for a man who is superior intellectually not to be conscious of that superiority, and unthinkingly to take a patronising attitude towards those who differ from him. This may be excusable, but it irritates those with whom he comes in contact, and renders them deaf to all his attempts at persuasion.

II.

The sense of the greatness of his opportunities—his freedom to use his life in the way in which it shall most effectively fulfil his ordination vows—may well dismay any man who realises his responsibility as a parish priest. There are terribly heavy responsibilities in many secular callings, as in the case of the

[1] Joshua Toulmin Smith, *The Parish*, 291.

general who plans an attack; or the captain who commands a ship; or the lawyer who is defending an innocent man; or the doctor who is called in to diagnose an infectious disease. Each of these is aware that for his conduct in these difficult situations he will be taken to task by superior officers or other men; religious feeling may or may not come in to re-enforce this sense of obligation to those who have placed confidence in him. But the ministerial sense of responsibility differs from any of these, because such pains have been taken to preserve the parish priest's consciousness of direct accountability, not merely to man but to God, for the manner in which he exercises his office. Apart from the solemnity of ordination, the clergyman is put in charge of his parish by institution; and the responsibility, for the cure of souls dwelling there, is laid upon him by the Bishop, as the minister of God. While he will of course be glad if he wins the good opinion of his people, the parish priest is guarded against any sense of dependence on, or subservience to, those through whom provision has been made for his maintenance; he is a steward, responsible to his own Master for doing his Master's work in the special sphere authoritatively assigned to him[1]. And the greater glory of the truth revealed under the new dispensation entails a higher privilege, and more onerous care, than that which pressed so intensely on the prophets in Old Testament times. *O son of man, I have set thee a watchman*

[1] 1 Corinthians iv. 3, 4.

unto the house of Israel;...if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity: but his blood will I require at thine hand[1].

The responsibility of maintaining the knowledge of His Gospel and bringing men consciously within the range of His Love, was laid upon the Apostles by their Master, and the same responsibility, but more definite and more precise, is authoritatively laid upon every parish priest to-day. On all Christian men there is a duty to do what they can to testify for their Master and to advance His cause; but the parish priest is called upon to make opportunities for those who are under his charge; it is in a very special sense incumbent on him, not to let any opportunity slip.

1. It is his bounden duty to commend Christianity as this Church and realm have received the same, so that men may accept it, and make it their own personally; and the very first step towards doing this is to be on speaking terms with them, and to know them personally. In political contests, it is recognised as a matter of supreme importance that a candidate should be well known to his constituents; and if the parish priest is to win the confidence of his people, they must not suspect that either through shyness, or pride, or indifference, he holds aloof from them. It is on this account that house to house visiting is of such immense import-

[1] Ezekiel xxxiii. 7, 8.

ance; it is the way in which the clergy can hope to break the ice, and get into some sort of touch with every one for whom they are responsible—men, women and children. There is no need whatever to force the pace or try to turn every chance conversation to direct religious account; the important thing is that the parishioners shall be in such human relations with their clergyman, as an acquaintance and a friend, that they are ready to welcome him, or at least not indisposed to welcome him, when the occasion comes for intimate counsel. Englishmen are very reticent; they do not easily take strangers into their confidence; they do not talk lightly and readily about their deepest feelings; and unless the clergyman has cultivated their acquaintance and won their confidence in days of health and prosperity, they will not wish for his presence in sickness and trouble. House to house visiting—just to make acquaintance with people—is often very tedious: it seems to lead to so little result, and be such a waste of time; but it is the slow forging of a link which may do good service at any moment. When the parishioners feel that their clergyman knows them and is really interested in them themselves, and their affairs, he has secured a fulcrum on which to work. The people who know him personally will come much more readily to hear what he has to say; the children will not be strangers when he begins to prepare them for Confirmation; he will not seem to be an intruder when there is sickness or sorrow in a house. Visiting is surely to be undertaken and

maintained sedulously and constantly, not for its own sake, but because of all it may lead to.

2. There is farther the definite duty of teaching what Christ's doctrine is, and setting it forth, so that men may be taken hold of by it, and yield themselves to it. In this country Christianity is, in a way, in the air; everybody must know something about it, and have some little information as to what Christians believe. But it is possible to live in this country, and to have very false impressions; exaggerations of particular doctrines easily become caricatures of Christian teaching, and these are likely to impress the superficial observer, who may possibly feel little interest in the matter. Not a few of those who are attached to Christian ordinances, are yet very imperfectly instructed, and are in serious danger because they do not realise their own ignorance. The essentials of the Christian faith can be stated so as to rouse a response in the heart of a little child: but there are vast fields of Christian morality, and Christian philosophy and Christian literature; and all the powers of grown men and women will be brought into play if they are to have an intelligent grasp on Christian truth. They do need help and guidance; and for want of serious thought about their religion there are many whose faith may be exposed to sudden and unexpected attacks. The Christian minister has his opportunity once a week of trying to teach; not merely to exhort or waken feeling, but to make men think, and to help them to understand their religion better. The round

of the Church's seasons—the selected portions of the Gospels and Epistles—gives a sort of framework which is a help; but it may often be well for a man to plan out with care a course of teaching which he will pursue for weeks or months: it is at least important that he should see quite clearly what he is trying to teach, and should reiterate it, and persist in it, till the lesson can be learned. And in so doing, he will have to try and consider the capacity of his congregation—the best way of keeping their attention steadily—the language that they apprehend, the things that appeal to them; and to be guided not so much by his own private taste in literary composition, as by a sense of what will appeal to those whom he addresses. And this, not because he wishes to preach down to them, or to make his sermons attractive, but because he wants to be as effective a teacher as he can, and to be able to make the very most of the opportunity—all too short—of steady teaching which the habits of modern English life afford.

Besides the teaching of adults, there is need for teaching children their religion, and the Catechism affords the great basis for carrying out this duty; the importance of catechising, as a method of instruction, has always been recognised in the English Church; and if there are diminished opportunities for teaching Christian truth in schools there will be all the more need to cultivate proficiency in this art; and to lay the basis for that more personal and devout teaching of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer

and the Ten Commandments and all other things which a Christian ought to know to his soul's health, which is required as a preparation for Confirmation.

3. The practice of visiting will bring the parish priest into touch, however slight, with all his parishioners; preaching and catechising give him the opportunity of instructing those who are not indifferent to religion: but it is also his duty to help and encourage those who are in earnest, and to give them all the opportunities the Church suggests, or enjoins, for cultivating the devout life. In this he may well strive to be an ensample to the flock. The Church provides for daily prayer, and the example of regularity in daily prayer, with the call to daily prayer by the church bell, is a reminder and an encouragement to secret prayer for some who cannot come to join in the daily offices. The Church suggests that provision should be made for frequent Communions, and the knowledge that the opportunity is provided will be to some an incentive to prepare and an invitation to come. It is certainly incumbent on any one who does not try to carry out the full round of the Church Services, as embodied in the Prayer Book, to be in earnest with himself, and to make sure that he has good reasons for this omission, and that it is not mere idleness. He can hardly hope that men will respond to his admonitions to come to church unless they know that he himself values and uses the Church's services for their own sake and not merely when there is a congregation to be ministered to. It is in such humble and simple

ways as these that a man may set himself to discharge his responsibilities in regard to various classes of his parishioners.

III.

It is indeed true that these duties, just because they are simple and have to be undertaken over and over again, may become mechanical. There are many men who go on, giving of their best, but are weighted by a sense of the irresponsiveness of their people: English people are irresponsive. The minister in a town may attract a congregation to whom his way of putting a thing appeals, and who all unconsciously give him encouragement; but in the country, there is less likelihood that he will feel this stimulus. And hence, if he would save himself from falling into routine—the formal repetition of the prayers and the mechanical production of weekly sermons of a sort—he must look, not to his people, but to his Master—the Author and Finisher of our Faith. There is always before our eyes the inspiration of a great example. Christ has not sent us to do anything that lies outside His own experience: He suffered from the lack of insight, the irresponsiveness of His chosen disciples, as well as from the indifference of many, and even the bitter personal hostility of some of those to whom He was sent. It is His work we are sent to do, we must strive to follow Him in His persistence; and to adopt, so far as we can, His ways of doing the work that was His, before

He committed it to His ministers. He took our nature upon Him; and entered on a life of service—of bearing the burdens of others. Christ's ministers must seek to get into touch and to keep in touch with real human nature. It is here that all affectations become so injurious; the man, who in any sense parades his devotion or his self-denial, is only too likely to be looked upon by his neighbours as somewhat of a curiosity, cast in a different mould from themselves—very well in his way, but still rather an oddity whom they do not desire to follow and could not if they would. There is no real example possible except from one whom they feel to be a man of like passions with themselves. It is because He has been touched with the feeling of our infirmities that our Lord ever liveth to make intercession for us as a Great High Priest.

In looking at Him too we can see how closely the pastoral and the priestly offices are allied; *He ever liveth to make intercession for those* whom He has sought and found. His marvellous prayer of self-consecration on the eve of the passion is full of pastoral intercession; *I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were, and thou gavest them me, and they have kept thy word....I pray for them, I pray not for the world, but for those which thou hast given me....And now I am no more in the world—but these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me. Those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none*

of them is lost. These words of intercession are allied to His great act of self-sacrifice, and the presentation of an offering. *Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish;* and the thought of Christ's offering gave fresh inspiration to S. Paul's pastoral work. The Christ, who had wrought reconciliation *in the body of His flesh through death to present His people holy and unblamable and unreprovable in His sight,* was the Christ whom the apostles preached, *warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.*

IV.

It is being pressed home on the minds of many of us just now that we have much to be thankful for, because of the manner in which the Anglican Church has been in God's hands an instrument for spreading His truth, and because of the extension of Christian influence throughout the world. We have surely cause for deep thankfulness too, because He has preserved among us the sense of pastoral responsibility for the cure of souls, as a necessary element in Church life. For us the Church is not a merely spiritual society into which godly men have formed themselves, it is the body of which

Christ is the Head, and we are members, and it is militant here on earth. The members and still more the responsible officers are bound to bear the burdens of others, and smooth the path for their footsteps, so that they may come to the Master and claim His help and accept His service. We have seen in what different fashions and various systems this duty has been discharged in the circumstances of past ages : but after all, that record of experience has more than an historical interest. It does bring into clear light the continuity of the Church, not as a formal tradition, but as a living force ; but it may have a practical suggestiveness besides. The Anglican Communion, extended throughout the world, is in touch with men in every stage of civilisation and of savagery. The gospel of the first age was preached in the crowded cities of men with a long tradition of high culture, as Christianity is being preached to-day in India or in China ; the Church is being planted also among half-nomadic and savage tribes in Africa, as it was planted among the barbarians who ravaged the Empire or settled on its borders. None of the agencies which served a useful purpose in days gone by is necessarily out of date ; there surely are corners of the world, in one or other of which every experience, even though drawn from a half-forgotten age, may be a real help to those who are charged with the cure of souls.

II

THE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION[1]

It is well for those who have been ordained or hope to be ordained to realise clearly how much is expected of them. They are bound to be very careful lest their habits and conduct should in any way cast a slur on their profession as Christians, and give men an excuse for holding aloof from religion or for deriding it. The words as we read them, "giving no offence in anything," include all the hours of the day, and all the duties and recreations of life. There is need to be watchful over trivialities of conversation which may have an appearance of levity that seems inconsistent with genuine earnestness, while any affectation of habitual solemnity will also cause offence. It is best worth while, however, to concentrate attention on a single point, and consider the danger of giving offence in connection with the very exercise of the ministry itself. For it is in

[1] A sermon preached before the University on Feb. 21, 1904, from the words, "Giving no offence in anything that the ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God." 2 Cor. vi. 3.

such matters that there is most difficulty in taking ourselves to task. Our consciences are often callous to sins of neglect, and omissions to use the opportunities of service that come to hand, but they are even less susceptible to the faults that mingle with our most eager efforts after good. The mistakes which spring from excess of zeal are apt to pass unnoticed in any review we take of our conduct. And just because it is so difficult, there is much need for thought on this matter. Christian testimony is often sullied in the eyes of the world by the personal failings of those who deliver it, so that men discount and disregard it. Indeed there is a real danger lest we should be content with being well-intentioned, without taking constant pains to be courteous; or again, lest we should ever fancy that the end, because it is the highest end, can justify any means. We may easily become less scrupulous in religious and philanthropic activities than in ordinary social intercourse, or secular concerns. We have all need to be on our guard lest through any carelessness of ours, the good is evil spoken of.

We shall get a hint as to the root of the mischief if we remember that it was the besetting sin of those whom our Lord associated with Himself in His Galilean ministry, to take too much upon themselves. The work which Christ had come to do was infinite, but the task He assigned to the twelve was carefully and specifically restricted. The field of the world was white for the harvest, but they were only to go to the house of Israel. The reproofs which our Lord

administered, from time to time, are full of significance. St Peter, the most zealous and energetic of the twelve, with deep admiration for his Master and insight to recognise His divine character, was particularly tempted to go beyond his commission in these early days. It was he who committed his Master to the payment of tribute; it was he who unbidden drew his sword to resist the authorities at Gethsemane; and it was he who dared to criticise the Lord when He was telling of the path that lay before Him. *This be far from thee, Lord*, he said. St Peter's business was to be the Lord's messenger, his privilege was to be His companion, but he was not called upon to act on his own initiative, still less to judge of his Master's wisdom. Where the chief of the apostles erred, there is at least a presumption that those who bear the apostolic commission may also go astray. We, too, must content ourselves with trying to execute our commission as earnestly as we can, and be on our guard against setting up overweening claims and going outside its terms.

I.

When our Lord's sojourn on earth was completed and He commanded the apostles to carry on His work in the power of His Spirit, the old restriction was removed, and they were sent to preach the gospel to every creature; but yet there are limits to the duty and to the responsibility. It seems at first sight as if the Christian minister might

fitly claim to pronounce judgments on all affairs in which religion is involved—that is on all the affairs of life—for Christian doctrine and motives have a bearing on human conduct in every possible aspect. But that is an unauthorised extension of the terms of our patent. The Christian minister does not hold a roving commission in the world to put all wrongs right; it is not his duty to attend to everybody else's business. He has a particular duty of his own to do in preaching the gospel, in declaring in act and word the divine forgiveness of sins, in fostering the growth of the divine life in human hearts. It is a ministry of reconciliation. In the light of the truth which Christ has sent His ministers to set forth, men may learn to become Christlike themselves—to accept God's will for them as their own aim and purpose for themselves, and thus to be reconciled to Him. Each one may also learn to recognise God's purpose, as accepted and adopted in other lives, and so come to love the brethren who are partakers in that common life, sympathising in their temptations and glorying in their victories. It is thus and only thus that human jarrings of every kind shall be permanently allayed, since we can cease to be at cross-purposes with one another. This ministry of reconciliation, of affording and applying the divinely appointed remedy for wrong, has been committed to those who are ordained to serve in His Church, and it is for the discharge of this particular duty that they are specially responsible to their Master.

With all the misery in the world appealing to us,

we are tempted to be dissatisfied with the slowness of the divine method, and to try to take matters into our own hands so as to devise expedients for bringing compulsion to bear in Christ's name on those who have not themselves responded to His call. We are tempted to take the maxims of the Sermon on the Mount as not only the essence of Christianity, but as a doctrine which appeals to the good men of all religions alike, and treat it as a code which we may try to enforce. But this is to misuse Christ's teaching. The Sermon on the Mount sets before us the course of self-discipline which we must each strive to adopt personally, for ourselves, if we would abide in Christ's kingdom eternally, but it is not a body of ethical principles from which maxims for conduct in mundane politics and business can be deduced.

We should not overlook the eschatological elements which form such a marked feature in our Lord's teaching about the kingdom of God; they bring into prominence its supermundane character, as He proclaimed it. That it has a very real bearing—deep, silent and slow—on all human institutions we shall see presently; but the kingdom of God has no direct relation with the kingdoms of this world, or with political life. The kingdoms of this world, as kingdoms, shall pass away: they are things temporal, they have a very high place and worth, but they are merely earthly. The principles which serve for training men and women to be citizens of an eternal kingdom, are not really applicable to the conduct of mundane realms. There is scope for considerations

of place and time, for expediency and compromise, in all political life, and these are wholly alien to the exalted demands of the gospel for single-hearted striving to realise the will of God. We have ceased to suppose that the Bible is a *résumé* of Natural Science and gives an authoritative description of the physical development of the globe; but there is still need to insist that Christ has not given us a code of life from which we can deduce a Christian Politics or a Christian Economics. These Moral Sciences—in so far as they are sciences—must be built up as other sciences have been, without recourse to data furnished by Revelation.

This misapprehension in regard to the bearing of Christ's teaching has had unfortunate results in practice, since it has so often led to the misdirection of the energies of Christian ministers. Those, who believe that Christ has given us laws from heaven for life on earth which can be applied directly to human institutions, are inclined to put forward a claim on behalf of Christian ministers to interpret and administer this divine code. The pretension of spiritual authority to lay down positive duty and even to control the affairs of state rests on this basis. Whether we recognise that authority as residing in a Pope—an accepted Head of the whole Christian community—or as emanating from the individual conscience, there has been in the past and there is in the present, a disastrous assertion of spiritual rights that are superior to civil authority in mundane action; they claim not only to influence

it indirectly, but to control or to defy it. This has been a recurring difficulty in progressive countries for the last three hundred years. Many Englishmen still cherish a deep-seated suspicion that their fellow subjects of the Roman obedience are not wholly loyal to English institutions; and papal claims are a disturbing influence, in Italy and France, at the present time. This is a point at which extremes may meet; for precisely similar difficulties may arise, whenever the supremacy of the religious conscience is maintained in such a sense that resistance to the state is held up to admiration. The assertion of individual conviction cannot be plainly distinguished from mere self-will; when that has free play, it must diminish the legitimate power of civil authority and tend to utter anarchy. It is not only in Russia, or in India, or in Utah, that the vagaries of individual religious conviction interfere with the good working of the government of the state. There is a danger that Christianity may cease to be what it was in New Testament times, a doctrine which makes for good citizenship, and may become either the badge of an international tyranny, or a cloak for the self-assertion which tends to anarchy. *By their fruits ye shall know them.*

With such warnings around us, we may well strive to hold fast to the old doctrine that in rendering what is Caesar's to Caesar citizens are also fulfilling a duty to God; and we, in the English Church, have within our reach a heritage of sound doctrine as to the attitude of the Christian man to public authority.

The struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have left a deep mark upon the tradition of Christian teaching established in this realm. We have learned to recognise the dignity of civil authority as ordained by God. While it is our part as ministers to hold up high standards of duty to civil rulers, and to strengthen their hands in the discharge of their responsibilities, we dare not set ourselves to restrict or to over-ride that authority. Should conscience be violated by active compliance with the demands of the state, the path of suffering in a good cause is always open. This was the doctrine of the Caroline divines—men who had a high conception of the priestly office but who did not therefore disparage that of the king. The lesson has not only been laid down for us in precept, but pointed by example. The story of the non-jurors which has been so admirably told by the late Birkbeck Lecturer[1], reveals the readiness of generations of churchmen to suffer for conscience sake, unresistingly.

II.

Even those who escape the temptation to take too much upon themselves, and to extend the terms of their commission, may fail lamentably in the manner in which they discharge it. To preach the Gospel to every creature is our task, but the fashion in which we shall fulfil it must greatly depend on our own apprehension of the truth committed to us, and

[1] J. H. Overton, *The Non-Jurors*.

on our aim in presenting it. It is a thankless part we set ourselves if we are striving to force mere intellectual conceptions on unwilling minds.

Yet this has been so sedulously attempted; there has been so much earnest thought and eloquent speech devoted to shaping religious truth in a form in which it should command the assent of the listener, so that his intellect should be compelled to admit the force of the proof. The rational theologians of two hundred years ago endeavoured to reduce Christianity to a form, in which it should be capable of demonstration and command the assent of all intelligences. That their reasoning seems ineffective to us is a small thing; but it is well to remember that in making the attempt, they ran perilously near to divesting their doctrine of all that was distinctively Christian, and of resting content with mere Deism. Others have sought to build on these foundations of natural religion, and by calling attention to the evidence for exceptional incidents to establish the truths which Christ revealed. It is a small thing that historical evidence as to unique events can at best yield a high probability[1], but there is reason to fear that the accentuation of the narrative of our Lord's sayings in time and doings on earth, may render us satisfied to hold fast to His human qualities and human excellences, so that our minds are dulled to the impress of His Eternal Nature. It would be scarcely worth while to reproduce as precise and accurate knowledge of His sayings and doings and surroundings as contemporary Jews at Jerusalem possessed, if after

[1] Ollé-Laprune, *De la certitude morale*, 12.

all we, like them, reject His claims to be the Lord. We must search the Scriptures, not chiefly for the evidence and import of exceptional incidents, but for all the light we can get on the manifold traits of the unique personality[1] of Christ.

While none of us can be really worthy of the charge our Master has entrusted to us, those surely are least unfitted to whom the truth of the Gospel is not a mere matter of intellectual demonstration or probable reasoning, but a moral conviction operating in personal experience. To them Christianity is a living doctrine, which sets forth the various relations which may subsist actually, between an individual human life and the Eternal Source of all life. The conviction of its truth is involved in every act of their moral nature. They know that their religion is no subjective fancy[2], but that it brings them into touch with supreme realities, because they find it supplies courage and strength for the battle of life, and clearer insight into its mysteries.

Those who thus apprehend the Gospel will not be satisfied to aim at presenting it as a doctrine that commands intellectual assent, but as something that others may be persuaded to test in their own experience, so as to see whether it does not help to explain what is utterly perplexing, and to begin the healing of much that is amiss. This is the note of S. Paul's preaching; he did not aim at obtaining a mere intellectual assent; he beseeches, and he

[1] A. Loisy, *Études Évangéliques*, 97.

[2] Wilhelm Herrmann, *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, 37.

persuades. He would have his hearers compare the doctrine which he delivered with the truth by which they already lived, comparing spiritual things with spiritual, and searching the Scriptures diligently whether these things were so. He would make them feel that he had a truth to declare for which they and their fathers had been vainly groping. He sought so to present the Gospel of Christ that it might not only win an intellectual acceptance, but work in the heart as a living power. *I beseech you*, he says, *by the meekness and gentleness of Christ.*

There may, I think, be some of us who conscientiously doubt whether this suppliant attitude, of entreating and appealing, is a right one for the Christian minister to take. They feel, and feel rightly, the marvellous dignity of their office as ambassadors of Christ; they come, charged with a message from Him, and they fear lest they should present it with any seeming hesitancy. They desire to speak with no uncertain sound, as men who are fully convinced of the authority they bear. They are deeply sensible of the greatness of their Master, and of the weight of the words entrusted to them. But yet, we may remember that the Ambassador of a Sovereign Power must not merely consider what is due to the Prince he represents; he must also take account of the views and habits and sentiments of those among whom he has to go. They may, like many native Princes with whom Englishmen have to deal, be ignorant of the claims of the distant monarch, and only know in the dimmest way of his existence. They may, perhaps,

suspect that those who come as ambassadors have no real authority, and pay scant respect to their credentials. The tone which a royal representative adopts in such circumstances must be scrupulously inoffensive, with no note of the haughtiness that might ruffle the listeners' susceptibilities; and we, as ambassadors of Christ, will do well to remember that many of those to whom we are sent, hardly recognise our Master as more than a dim and distant power. They find it very hard to see how any message can reach them from Him, and they do not find our credentials convincing. It is not by positiveness or insistency that we can best do the Master's work, and commend His message to men and women in England to-day. We must try to apprehend the point of view of those with whom we have to deal, so that we can sympathise with it and present our Master's message in the form which appeals to it most strongly. And in so doing we may perhaps feel that we are following most closely in the Master's steps. In manifesting the Will of God to the world, He did not appear among men as the express image of His person, or the brightness of His glory; He had regard to the conditions of human apprehension, and humbled Himself and became in fashion as a man. The disciple is not above his Master; the task for us now is the same as He set Himself when He came in great humility, and we must bear the mien of those who are trying to serve. We dare not rely on that which He consciously discarded, and claim a hearing because of human qualities of any kind—whether

natural abilities or long education or social status. Our lips and our hands can but be offered as the instruments by which He may deign to work, in winning men to give effect to His Will. And thus through His help and blessing it may be ours to maintain that faith, with which men accept the monotony and drudgery of life here, in the confidence that a Fatherly Hand is over them and disciplining them for a place in His eternal home. It may be ours to kindle the hope, sure and steadfast, which enters into that within the veil and strengthens Christ's faithful soldiers to their lives' end. It may be ours to foster that charity, which goes far beyond mere neighbourliness and kindliness, because it is so ready to bear with others, so eager for self-sacrifice. All this may be ours, if we will try simply to set forth Christ—the incarnate Christ, the crucified Christ, the risen Christ—so that men may come under His spell, and feel the attraction of His unique personality.

III.

The work of Christ's ministers, like that of their Master, is to declare supernatural truth and to try to foster the supernatural life in the world. But to those who seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness all other things are added. It is given to them to have clearer insight into phenomena in the past, and more confident hope in all the perplexities of actual affairs. It is given, too, to exercise an influence which works outside the special field of

the Apostolic Commission. In so far as Christian teaching tends to the formation of Christian character, it has an indirect, but none the less a real bearing on all the affairs of life. All human activities and relationships call at times for genuine self-sacrifice; and in no sphere is this more constantly needed, in none is it more habitually forgotten, than in connection with civil government and public life. "Public spirit" implies a willingness to sacrifice personal convenience or private gain for the good of the State. Unwillingness to sacrifice himself in any way—eagerness to wring what private advantage he can from public affairs—is a trait that marks a man as unworthy of the privileges of citizenship. There may be many motives which inspire a man to devote time and energy unstintedly to the service of the State, but Christianity may at least co-operate with them all to raise the tone of public life. It can help to exorcise the sordid spirit which asks on every occasion, Where do I come in? What have posterity or the colonists done for me? That is the evil principle which makes for the corruption of home politics and the disruption of Empires; and a religion which sets forth self-sacrifice as an ideal is a constant witness against it. In all the complex influences which have been at work in building up the power of England there has been an element of sacrifice that has redeemed the growth of the Empire from being mere self-aggrandisement, and has rendered it instead a national glory. There has been a genuine thought for the well-being of other peoples in our policy;

we have not set ourselves merely to exploit them. We do take thought, not always wisely, but earnestly and truly, for the good of coloured races and subject peoples. The more we attain to a true conception of that wherein human welfare consists, the better will be our plans of government for them, as well as for ourselves. And this unselfish spirit which has entered, however imperfectly, into our national aims, has been a dominating influence in the personal work of many of the men who form a noble army of administrators; they are giving the best of their lives in wrestling with plague and famine and race-hatred, and all the problems, physical and social, which arise in our Indian Empire. The element of self-sacrifice is deeply ingrained in the devotion of those who are bearing the burden of responsibility there, and they may find fresh inspiration for their mundane task in Christian faith and hope. We who are called to minister in holy things may help in the service of our country too. We may by God's blessing show forth the Living Christ as the power which can set this English people free from sordid aims and petty ambitions,—as one who can give us insight and courage to carry on the work and fulfil the destiny which God has assigned us among the kingdoms of this world.

III

BLENDED AIMS IN MISSIONARY WORK[1]

Enthusiasts for missionary work are apt to complain of the apathy of Englishmen abroad, and of the discouragement that is due to the indifference shown by some officials. It may, however, be more dangerous to win the approval of those whose attention is concentrated on the work of helping Eastern peoples to adopt our Western Civilisation. We may so easily lose our sense of the relative importance of the Christian Faith, and of its adjuncts;—the intellectual, moral and physical boons which follow from it. We ought to bear constantly in mind what our Lord put first, and to make it our main effort to preach the Gospel, while regarding all else as secondary to the one essential object. As we look back on the story of Church Extension in our Empire we may see that spiritual progress has been checked once and

[1] Ramsden Sermon preached before the University on 19 May, 1907, from the words "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." S. Matt. vi. 33.

again, because of the secular forms it assumed. We have not been sufficiently single-hearted, but have let lesser aims—good in their way, but still secondary—blend with zeal for the Kingdom of God.

I.

If we go back to the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, when the planting of our Colonies began and the foundations of our Empire were laid, we cannot but feel that a genuine missionary enthusiasm had been kindled in the hearts of the pioneers, though it was blended with and helped to ennoble their other aims. England had but recently escaped the peril of absorption by the Spanish power which had swallowed up Portugal and ruined the richest districts of the Netherlands. Englishmen hated the Spanish tyranny, as inconsistent with their ideals, political and religious; and they were desperately jealous of the manner in which the Spanish political and religious system was developing unchecked in the New World. They were eager to introduce a counterpoise, and to plant in the new hemisphere communities that should maintain a juster rule, a purer faith and a wise self-discipline; thus the savage races of America might be indoctrinated with a better civilisation than that of Spain. This was the destiny of England as conceived by the Elizabethan seamen; it is impossible to read the "Journal" of Francis Drake or the "Will" of Sir Walter Raleigh without feeling that they had a genuine sense of

religious duty, not only to those who went with them, but to those among whom they proposed to settle. This deeply religious sentiment was blended with political aims; the Elizabethan seamen could not keep the two apart even in thought. So far as they saw, the expansion of English life, as organised in Church and State, was the only practicable method for diffusing and maintaining the faith once delivered to the saints. And so their efforts, for the spread of Christianity, and for the increase of English power on the American Continent, were combined. As Spain and Portugal promoted the strictest type of Latin Christianity in their dominions, as the French Monarchy granted its support to the Sulpicians and Jesuits, who were such devoted missionaries in the valleys of the St Lawrence and the Mississippi, so the founding of English plantations beyond the seas was accompanied by efforts to diffuse the doctrine and discipline of Christ as this Church and Realm had received the same.

This close alliance between religious and political plantation was not wholly fortunate; the wealth which was lavished on the religious orders has not always been wisely used; the changes among temporal rulers—the fall of the French Monarchy and the contraction of the power of Spain—have been serious blows to the influence of Latin Christianity in the New World. Anglican Christianity, as an expansive force, has also suffered from its close connection with the English Crown; not from the decline of the polity, since that has continued to

flourish, but from the manner in which the Church was affected by the varying fortunes of political parties. The decay of Spanish power was followed by a change both in the political aims and religious energy of those who devoted themselves to the increase of the maritime greatness of England. The Restoration of the monarchy in England saw an immense increase of commercial activity, under Royal Patronage, on the Guinea Coast, on the shores of Hudson Bay and in the East Indies; but though the work did not cease, there was not such enthusiasm for planting new Colonies as there had been under James and Charles, and much less readiness to try to guide the Colonists, unless it was absolutely necessary for the material prosperity of the realm. This indifference in regard to the religious condition of the settlers was accompanied by a diminished sense of any duty towards the native population. Private persons, like Robert Boyle, did endeavour to rouse Englishmen to a sense of their responsibilities, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded. But the successive ministers of the Crown, even those who were most decidedly Anglican in their sympathies, were afraid of taking any active steps; and Bishop Berkeley's failure to obtain support for his project of a College in Bermuda, marks the apathy of the English Court in regard to any undertaking of the kind. The opponents of the Court, when they came into power, were even less likely to do anything to foster the Church. The long period of Whig rule exercised a deadening

influence over Church activity both at home and abroad. In Virginia and the South the Church was administered on episcopal lines, but there was no localised episcopate, and no effective system of exercising pastoral care over the members of the Church, or influencing those who were not Christians at all. The royalist affinities which had been a support to Anglican missionary endeavours at the beginning of the seventeenth century, became in the eighteenth a dead-weight, which hampered them at every turn.

The story of the New England Colonies is very different; but it is equally true that the Pilgrim Fathers merged their religious and political aims together. They desired to found a Theocracy, by establishing self-governing townships in which political and religious interests were conjoined. Politically their system has been gradually modified; by a succession of federations a great nation, with a common administration, has been formed; but some of the essential features can still be traced, while this is hardly true of its religious aspects. There was little success in maintaining a vigorous and expansive witness to Christian truth; from the very first there was reason to believe that the piety of the first settlers was not likely to spread. Each separate church was regarded as a congregation formed by earnest Christian men, and presided over by a teacher whom they had selected to exercise his personal gifts among them; and there was no direct call to go beyond the sphere of that congre-

gation. The religious influence declined as the communities grew ; a large proportion of the English settlers were outside the sphere of congregational life and resented their consequent exclusion from political rights. With some noble exceptions, such as John Eliot of Roxbury, there seems to have been little sense of personal or congregational duty to the Indian tribes. The punishment of the Salem witches discredited the ecclesiastical leaders, while the New Theology of the day sapped the force of personal enthusiasm. The failure of Puritanism to maintain a vigorous Christianity in the Land of Promise on which it entered seems to be admitted in the present day. The rural areas in particular are in danger of losing all touch with the Christian religion. When I was in America in 1899, I was much struck by the testimony of the official document in which Governor Rollin proclaimed a fast in New Hampshire. "The decline of the Christian religion, particularly in our rural communities, is a marked feature of the times, and steps should be taken to remedy it....There are towns where no church bell sends forth its solemn sound from January to January ; there are villages where children grow to manhood unchristened ; there are communities where the dead are laid away without the benison of the name of the Christ, and where marriages are solemnised only by the Justice of the Peace." This widespread neglect of religious ordinances is, in the Governor's opinion, bound to react upon civil life. "Every good citizen knows," he says, "that when the restraining influences of

religion are withdrawn from a community, its decay, moral, mental and financial is swift and sure." Puritanism had embodied itself in political forms, and these institutions failed to preserve a religious spirit.

So far as the great area in America, which has ceased to be included among the Colonies of the British Empire, is concerned, religious enthusiasm had for the most part been kept alive by Methodism, which had no special political affinities. Presbyterianism too, which, as planted in America, had ceased to be closely connected with political aims, showed itself vigorous, both in the effective supervision of the settlers and in the missionary work of such men as Brainerd. But the political element seems to have brought a blight on the magnificent Christian efforts with which colonial enterprise was started. It is indeed true that, so long as the Church is militant here on earth, it must be organised as a mundane society and have some relation to political institutions. The dream of founding a Theocracy, and thus identifying the political and religious, still floats before many minds, and experience in the past has not been wholly adverse to the use of political influence for religious ends. Political prestige has given great assistance to the spread of Christianity at many times; it did so among the Barbarians, who ravaged the Empire; it has done so again among heathen tribes in the present day. We need not forget the fact; but it is essential that there should be no uncertainty as to the nature of the end in

view,—that which we are seeking first and chiefly. For the founders of Virginia, missionary enthusiasm was inseparably combined with imperial ambition, and their failure is a thing we shall do well to bear in mind.

II.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century there was a great revival of missionary enthusiasm: it was earnestly religious, and it was not in any sense political, but it was closely associated with pity for the degraded condition, moral, mental, and material, in which large numbers of the human races continued to subsist. The work of Captain Cook had roused fresh interest in exploration, and had drawn the attention of William Carey to the possibility of evangelising the Antipodes. The horrors of the African slave trade were taking hold of the public imagination; the criticism, which was being directed against the East India Company and the Hudson Bay Company for the commercial spirit in which they ruled the great territories that had come into their hands, resulted in eager efforts to raise the black man in the scale of civilisation. This was the era when the Church Missionary Society and other vigorous societies, both in England and America, were founded. The contrast between the personal freedom and the opportunities of self-development, which existed in Anglo-Saxon communities, and the degradation in heathen lands, seemed to be a call

for help from all the areas where British commerce touched, or where British rule extended. The religious motive, that of winning souls to God, was the essential and fundamental factor; but it was blended with the philanthropic aim of recasting the social system altogether, and bringing it more into line with Anglo-Saxon institutions; in America, this subordinate aim of missionary endeavours appears to have been strongly accentuated. The preaching of the gospel to the heathen is sometimes spoken of as if, whatever its religious influence might be, it was certainly doing good in causing secular improvement and paving the way for democratic institutions. But though it is a duty to try to modify social habits so as to render them consonant to Christian teaching, there may be a mistake in thinking that the only way, or the best way in which this can be done, is by approximating, as closely as possible, to an Anglo-Saxon model.

The passing traveller cannot hope to get a real insight into the particular problems that have to be faced in any part of the world, or pretend to form an opinion as to the best way of solving them. But he cannot help forming impressions as to the aims which different missionaries he has met have set before them in their work; and he may sympathise with some of these aims more fully than he does with others. When I have visited mission stations, I have been struck by the difference between the men who regarded the native social system around them as hopelessly corrupt and wished to sweep it away

altogether; and those who, while recognising its defects, were striving to Christianise the system itself. The same course may not be practicable in all cases; but at least the difference of aim is striking. I remember talking with a missionary in Poonah, who regarded his work as merely destructive —sweeping away a corrupt system—and who held that when he and his generation had cleared the ground, it would be for others to come and build, he knew not what,—that is one view. Very different was the attitude of the mission staff on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin, where I once preached to a large congregation of Red Indians, while their chief himself acted as the interpreter, paragraph by paragraph, throughout the discourse. All the work on that reservation, with its creamery, its railway communication and modern facilities, was directed towards forming a Christian tribe, not to destroying the tribal system. The problem as to the relative advantages of breaking up or preserving social relations occurs in South Africa as well as in India and North America. The fundamental questions, so far as I could learn, in that part of the Empire, for all who are trying to elevate the native races in Cape Colony and Natal, seemed to be—Whether it was wise to try to secure greater individual independence from the power of the chief? and, Whether it is desirable that the individual should have private, not merely communal, property in land? It may be that personal independence gives opportunities for rising in the world; it may be that private property is a necessary con-

dition for very rapid material progress, and that it is easiest to aim at mere destruction so as to leave scope for the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon model. But this is not necessarily the work that Christ sent forth His Apostles to do. Freedom for enterprise and private property in land are very well in their way, but they are not the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Still less are democratic ideals necessarily involved in the diffusion of Christianity; the Gospel of Christ is for little children as well as for citizens who have votes. There is a message for every individual human being, but it is not a message as to the status they should enjoy in civil society or in secular life. Improvement in these matters is at best an adjunct of Christianity,—a thing that may properly follow in its train—rather than the condition which makes it possible. Sometimes, from what I have seen and heard in different parts of the Empire, I have been forced to wonder whether Christian missionaries have sufficiently recognised this distinction. The unsympathetic attitude of civil administrators, of which complaint is sometimes made, may be due, not so much to their indifference in matters of religion, as to the divergent views of officials and clergy in regard to the best line for social progress and personal improvement. The blending of the aims of diffusing Western civilisation, and of preaching the Gospel, has seemed to be inevitable; but it has contributed to much of the suspicion which has been roused, and to the raising of obstacles to Church extension over the colonies and dependencies of the Empire during the course of last century.

III.

Another great Empire once existed with which that of England is often compared. So far as the progress of Christianity is concerned, there is a marked contrast in the story of the Roman and of the British Empire. Even though, as Bishop Lightfoot has insisted, the increase in the number of converts was not so extraordinary, there was during the three centuries of persecution a remarkable growth of influence until the Church succeeded in capturing the machinery of State. The English Church has not achieved any such startling result during the three hundred years since our first colony was planted. There are many factors which may help to account for the difference; the dispersion of the Jews throughout the Empire rendered them everywhere possible precursors of Christianity, and gave the new faith a basis of operation; in many places there was, too, a similarity of conditions and habits of thought in the various cities of the Empire, where the Church took a firm hold, such as we do not find among the heathen races of the wide world; it is harder now to be all things to all men. But apart from all these differences of circumstances we may surely note this essential trait—that the Christianity of the first ages was so purely religious and so little affected by the political conditions and the social aspirations which have blended with missionary effort in modern times.

The early Christians were without political am-

bition; the Master had said *My kingdom is not of this world*, and they were ready to disclaim any disloyalty to the Roman Emperor. For some of them the Empire of Rome was a ruthless monster; for others it was the grandest of civil institutions; but for all it was a thing of this world—mundane, secular—an accepted fact, like the system of physical nature. The social system and family life were corrupt, and in many ways inconsistent with the implied principles of Christianity. Some endeavoured to withdraw from them altogether; but on the whole Christians were content to try to bring their own habits into accordance with the Way of Light rather than to uproot the existing order. This at least was S. Paul's advice, *Let every man wherein he is called therein abide with God.* There was to be no pedantic protest against idolatrous usages; *Whatsoever is sold in the shambles eat, asking no questions for conscience sake.* There was to be no vehement assertion of the dignity of those for whom Christ died, or rather there was a consciousness of that dignity, which rendered the incident of slavery a thing of little account. *Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it.* The Christians were not encouraged to hold aloof from their neighbours, and they came to be ready to adopt the usages and institutions of heathen Rome in order to transform them for a Christian purpose. The cemeteries to which the Christians resorted for worship were much like those frequented by heathen; the *scholae* which the Christians used were similar to the buildings in which

pagans commemorated their departed friends; the congregations of Christians sheltered themselves under the laws which recognised funeral guilds. And just because of the external similarity in these gatherings, the inner meaning—the supernatural hope—must have shone out all the more clearly by contrast. The Christians met, not merely to recall the memory of a friend departed from among them, but to thank God for the triumphs of the Eternal Christ, and to cheer one another with the hope of re-union with all those who had striven and suffered for Him. It was their faith in a Supernatural Power, the hope of a Supernatural Life, the exercise of a Supernatural Charity, that gave its prevailing power to the Christianity of those days. The very circumstances of their lives rendered it impossible for them to diffuse their activities over all the miseries of this naughty world; but they could fix their hearts and minds on the realm to which Christ has ascended. Thus in their experience, the maxim which our Lord set forth was justified. They sought, first of all, the Kingdom of God and His righteousness; and other things, prestige and status, and regenerated society, were added thereto. For those who are single-hearted in His service, God will do more than they can ask or think.

IV

THE SERVICE OF GOD IN CHURCH AND STATE[1]

The life is more than meat; and the long roll of University benefactors which is to be read to-day does not put in the forefront the names of those who are most worthy to be commemorated as examples. Our deepest debt of gratitude must be paid, not to the patrons who supplied the means of academic existence, but to those who have themselves lived the life vigorously. Buildings, and books, and all the instruments of study are of no account compared with the men who have devoted themselves to using these things to the best purpose. They have established a tradition of thoroughness of work and eagerness for research; though this cannot be adequately put on record, it has, nevertheless, been passed down from one generation of living men to another by the influence of personal contact. These men have been severally and collectively the greatest benefactors to the University; and not less worthy of remembrance, because they must have so often

[1] A Sermon preached on Lady Margaret's Foundation in commemoration of University Benefactors on 6th Nov., 1904, from the words "Is not the life more than meat?" S. Matt. vi. 25.

been unconscious of the deep impression they were making on younger men, not by what they taught, but by what they were felt to be. No single mind can cover the whole field of human learning, though all sides may be represented in such a centre as this. No one man, however great, will exemplify all the scholarly virtues; but diverse aspects set forth in different lives suffice to render the circle complete and to compose a noble ideal. Others here, besides myself, have doubtless a sense of personal gratitude towards three men with whom I came, as an undergraduate, into occasional and accidental contact, but who left undying impressions on my mind. In one there was a sense of the dignity of learning, as far removed from sordid aims and vulgar applause. In another there was a spirit of genuine humility, that was nervously conscious of the possibility of error, and generously appreciative of the work of others; while the mind of the third was wonderfully open to fresh interests of every kind, and keenly alive to actuality as the corrective of empty opinions. To me at least, Thompson, and Maurice, and Humphry will always be typical of those whose names are best worth recording as benefactors of this University, since they were inspiring forces in their day and generation.

I.

The more highly we appreciate such examples, the more readily shall we also recognise our debt to those through whose munificence it has been

possible for academic life to spring up and flourish in this place. The slip they planted and tended has grown beyond the possibility of recognition. Even the benefactors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could never have anticipated the lines of most rapid development in recent days—an engineering school lay outside their purview altogether; and when we look back on the first founders, we can only speculate as to their aims, and their expectations. But of one thing we may be certain; they were not concerned with the perpetuation of mere simple-minded piety. The neighbourhood was already rich in houses of learning; there was ample opportunity for men who desired to lead a secluded life of study, at Bury St Edmunds, at Ely, at Crowland and at Ramsey. The founders of this University did not merely desire that their corporation should compete with the Augustinians at Barnwell, or the Nuns at St Radegunds. They looked out into the great world; they wanted to catch some rays of the light that was shining at Paris and Bologna; they wished to equip Englishmen, especially those from the Eastern counties, for taking a part in the affairs of Christendom. England had been drawn out of her isolation to be, for many legal and fiscal purposes, a portion of a European polity. The familiar phrase "that there never may be wanting a supply of persons duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State," is an echo of the sentiment that seems to have inspired them in founding this seminary of sound learning. Their scheme was instinct with a far

higher purpose than that of furthering personal self-culture, and was closely related to their whole conception of man and his place in the world. Human life, as they recognised, flows from God and is to be regulated in all its aspects in accordance with the divine Will. There were two authorised channels through which the divine influence was working—the spiritual power dispensing Grace, the civil power dispensing Justice. The instruments through which God's Will might be accomplished were the Christian Church, ministering the means of grace in the heart, and the Christian State punishing wrongdoers and enforcing right. The administering the affairs of the Church was a widely extended field of duty, especially since Canon Law affected or controlled so many of the relations of life, and appeals were taken to the Court of Rome; while there was much business in connection with the collection of the enormous revenue, which was drawn from all parts of Christendom to the Papal See. The founding of the University was at that time a matter of national importance. Whether individual Englishmen succeed in carving out great careers in Christendom or not, there would at least be a supply of duly qualified persons to attend to the administration of public affairs in England, so as to remove all excuse for the continued invasion of this country by educated aliens, who were being intruded into all positions of trust and responsibility. If English affairs were to be entrusted to Englishmen, then they must be educated, so that they might be fit to take part

in the administrative system of Christendom. Some three centuries later it appeared that in this effort the Universities had been completely successful. When King Henry VIII put forward his formal claim that "this Realme of England is an Empire... governed by one Supreme Head and King having the dignity of the Imperial Crown," he could fairly assert that the spirituality had been "found of that sort, that both for knowledge integrity and sufficiency of number it had always been thought sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior persons to determine all such doubts and administer all such offices as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain." In the opinion of this Royal Benefactor the Universities had amply justified their existence.

The aim of serving God in Church and State is high; but the task as conceived in the Early Middle Ages was comparatively simple. The complexities of modern life had not arisen; and the education, which sufficed to qualify men for the tasks that might come to their hands, was very different from that which is requisite to-day. Latin was the one language in vogue throughout Western Christendom, not only for religion and literature but for judicial and business purposes. There was no need to cultivate other tongues, either ancient or modern, while the range of intellectual interest was restricted. Speculation on the problems of the Universe, except on the lines laid down by Christian theology, was not encouraged. It was not till the age of the Humanists that the fascination of literary studies

was recognised, and that professorships of Hebrew and Greek were founded. Attention to the empirical investigation of Nature, which we associate with the name of Bacon, was a still later development of academic activity. Whatever the aims of the first founders may have been, they were obviously precluded from taking account of much that we regard as among the necessary elements of general education, and of all that we mean by accurate scholarship, and scientific research. They could hardly have shared our conception of the part which Universities may play in the Advancement of Learning, nor thought of them as the most suitable sphere for a secluded life of disciplined study.

II.

We may heartily rejoice that, as the centuries have passed, this University has been ever ready to recognise new ideals of human culture and intellectual discipline, so that her sons have made their mark in every field of literature and every branch of science; but yet it is surely important that these superinduced activities should never distract her from the primary function of supplying duly qualified persons to serve God in Church and State. The duty of the University to the National Life stands in the forefront, though there have been days when this was too much forgotten. Even before the Reformation brought about the disruption of Christendom, the clerical profession was ceasing to embrace the wide range of functions it had once monopolised. The great offices of State were no longer exclusively

exercised by ecclesiastics, and the sphere of secular jurisdiction was being enlarged. With the Reformation, the Anglican clergy ceased to be the obviously fitting persons for employment in diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers. Affairs of state passed out of their grasp, and came to be placed more and more in the hands of courtiers who had not necessarily had any University training at all. Family influence rather than academic distinction became the passport to responsible employment, and foreign travel was an appropriate means for educating those to whom such positions were attractive. The Universities continued to exist, mainly as training places for the clerical profession, even though the range of its activities had been narrowed; they did not consciously adapt themselves to provide, under new conditions, preparation for the service of the State in civil and diplomatic careers. At the eras of the Reformation and of the development of Puritanism, religious and ecclesiastical questions absorbed such a large share of public interest that the sectional character of University life did not at once attract attention as an evil; the Court Preacher long survived as a last link between academic and public life, but the living connection had passed away. We cannot but feel that the gradual severance of the University from larger interests was a thing to be deplored. The channel by which the State could draw into its service the ablest of the rising generation, from all ranks of society, and all parts of the realm was closed, and on the other hand, stagnation and

decadence overtook the Universities when they practically ceased to discharge this part of their primary functions.

The clerical professionalism, which dominated Cambridge, has called forth a reaction which may run to the opposite extreme; there is perhaps some danger lest this University should cease to devote itself, consciously and deliberately, to training men who seek to serve God in His Church. From many points of view it would be a serious loss if this University should disclaim the official duty of educating men for that high vocation and should cease to be obviously in sympathetic touch with the spiritual life of the community. To the Church it would be disastrous; in days when education is so widespread, there is more need than ever before for men with a wide range of intellectual interests and real sympathy with human nature of every age and condition, to undertake parochial work. This centre of thought and learning would also suffer if attention were concentrated on the antecedents and genesis of Christianity; and there were to be no official study of the Christian Faith, as this Church and Realm has received the same, in all its aspects as a living and growing power. When the University is undertaking so much new work, it would be a pity if, as a consequence of a strained interpretation of the Act of 1870, the task of training men for the Christian ministry were relegated to other institutions. The maintenance of the thorough and earnest study of the Christian religion has an importance, not merely for one class of students but for all;

since it takes us to the source of a hopefulness and active sympathy which are needed to leaven academic life and preserve it from cynicism and inertia.

III.

However this may be, it is a matter for profound thankfulness that the revived energy of the ancient Universities, during last century, was accompanied by a new sense of the part they ought to play in training men for administrative duties in public life. The field which has to be occupied now is infinitely wider and more varied than was the case in the days of Henry III and Edward I. The spirit, which Dante regarded as characteristic of the men of this island in their Border raids, has made itself felt in all parts of the world—"the pride which excites the Scot and the Englishman, so that they will not remain within their own bounds[1]." This has ceased to be a mere thirst for aggression—if it ever had that character—and has become the honourable desire to introduce English law and English order into the most distant territories; and thus to make for the peace of the world, and for the development of all that is best in barbarous and subject races. To exercise such an influence among men of the most varied tribes and languages is a glorious destiny. It is a gigantic task, since the functions which the modern state has assumed are so diverse, when contrasted with public business in thirteenth century Christendom. The administration of known codes of law in one universal tongue, the collection of settled payments,

[1] *Parad.* XIX. 121.

the punishment of recognised offences against God and man, were comparatively simple duties. But life is far more complex now; and the effort to make the most of every area, so that its resources shall be developed to the utmost, calls for technical and scientific skill of many kinds. The duty of striving to elevate the people themselves, and lead them to accept higher ideals of life, and to use their intellectual powers to better purpose is the hardest task of all. This is the work which England has set herself to do in India, in Egypt, and among the coloured population of the West Indies; and there is need, in all these varied avocations, as well as in the defence of the Empire by land and sea—for men who will serve God by administering affairs of State. Nor can there be a more glorious responsibility and privilege for any seat of human learning than to take her part in training the men who are eager to bear a share of this burden.

A centre of learning may well be severed from the work of the world in its habits and methods, but not in its purposes and ultimate objects. We dare not put forward the claim to pursue an isolated life of our own. The more we can keep the thoughts of imperial duty and destiny before us in our work here, the more may we hope to be delivered from those petty personal aims which become absorbing when there is no great ideal to hold them in check. For personal ambitions enter into every phase of academic life, and we all need to be on our guard lest that, which may be a wholesome stimulus, should degenerate into vulgar self-seeking. Even among the

most distinguished men, the genuine love of learning may be associated with a jealous regard for reputation, which shows itself in the effort to warn off intruders from the chosen field of enquiry, or in grudging recognition of the work of younger men. The Psalmist is scornful over the miser who heaps up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them, but there is surely a lower depth of folly in the life of the pedant, who jealously guards possessions which he cannot even bequeath.

A similar taint may easily affect the minds of those who are just entering on academic life. The wholesome competition for distinction is only too likely to be vulgarised, so long as no pains are taken to dissociate it from the granting of substantial emoluments. The distribution of eleemosynary help to poor students cannot be advantageously blended with awarding prizes to the most brilliant schoolboys of their generation. It is a pity if money which might be given to poor men, who cannot come here without such aid, is ever diverted for the use of those who have no need of eleemosynary help; but the system is even more mischievous if any boy's eagerness to learn is degraded into a greedy desire for the substantial rewards of success.

This sordid spirit may indeed affect our whole conception of education and of the advantages which it confers. There are men who are keen enthusiasts for higher education, and for bringing it within the reach of all, because they believe that it gives a man a start in the race for wealth, and that by means of his developed faculties he will be able to distance his

competitors. The emoluments which the man of academic training may secure are put in the forefront, and the advantage which education confers on a community seems to be viewed as merely incidental. But after all, the personal advantages cannot go to all alike; every man cannot be so educated as to run faster in the race than everybody else; the sordid struggle of all against all will only be rendered keener than before. The opening up of new ambitions always affords the possibility of bitter disappointment. There is a part of the Empire, where the failures of the University who find themselves stranded in life, are a considerable menace to the well-being of the community. It is of such stuff that anarchists are made.

There is no charm to give us immunity from the evils which accrue from selfish aims and merely personal ambitions, but the memories which come to mind on such a day as this may put us on the guard against this insidious mischief. We may strive to rise to our responsibility in the use we make of the heritage we have received. There is need to maintain for ourselves, and to hold up to others, high ideals, in the pursuit of which a man may rightly spend his best powers and energies. If a sense of our own shortcoming is mingled with the pride we take in our predecessors, we shall be inspired by the tradition they have handed down to live our lives in such fashion as to train men, not for the attainment of selfish ambitions, but for service—the service of God in Church and State.

V

COLLEGE LIFE[1]

THOSE of us who have been enabled, under Dr Venn's guidance[2], to become acquainted with the history of our college, cannot but be struck with the vitality it has displayed,—its vigorous power of growth, like that of a tree planted by the waterside. There have been many changes in the conditions of society, and the intellectual atmosphere of Cambridge, since Edmund Gonville established his hall, but the foundation has continued to flourish. Cramped and poor as it was at first, it has grown in extent and resources, far beyond any expectation he could have cherished; but to us who look back there is something even more striking in the ability which this ancient college has shown for adapting itself to meet the new requirements of successive generations.

[1] A Sermon preached at the Commemoration of Benefactors in the chapel of Gonville and Caius College, 22 June, 1904, from the words "He shall be like a tree planted by the waterside that will bring forth his fruit in due season." Ps. i. 3.

[2] *Caius College*, by John Venn, Sc.D., F.R.S.

I.

At two different epochs its powers in this respect have been specially tested. In the sixteenth century the old order was passing away, and the care of the second founder reconstituted this college so as to make it a famous centre of education in Elizabethan England. Its old function was done with: it had ceased to be a place to which a few of the more promising members of East Anglian monasteries came, with others, to pursue their several studies, so as to qualify for promotion in the higher branches of their profession, and to fit themselves for public life in an ecclesiastical world. The time had gone by when the government of the realm looked to the ranks of the clergy for men who should carry on diplomatic negotiations and fiscal administration. The long conflicts between royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, between common and canon law, had come to a close in England, finally and for ever. There was no need to provide for the class of students who had entered here in the old days, but other functions were coming into notice and these the college began to discharge.

The awakening intellectual activity of England in the sixteenth century had opened up an interest in new branches of learning—philological, literary and empirical. Just when the national life was being completely severed from alien ecclesiastical domination, new classes were rising to wealth and importance,

new ideals were kindling the enthusiasm of students and of men of affairs, and a new scheme of training was organised. The college became the temporary home of young men, drawn from the families of the landed gentry, to have their minds developed and their characters formed under the constant influence of their tutors. Ample testimony remains as to the efficiency of this new college system in the early part of the seventeenth century, when a high standard of academic life was maintained by strict magisterial discipline, and personal tutorial teaching. We at least are constantly reminded of this new ideal of the function of a college in the training of the mind and the forming of character, since it has been set constantly before our eyes, embodied in the gates, which were erected by John Caius, and in the coat of arms he devised.

II.

We live at the close of an epoch when the college has once more shown this same power of self-adaptation,—of taking up new duties and doing them effectively. The five hundredth anniversary of Edmund Gonville's foundation almost coincided with the beginning of this second period of rapid change and growth. No sufficient steps had been taken to shake off the effects of the blighting influence of the eighteenth century. In the Georgian period, this college, like others, had become almost exclusively a seminary for men who looked forward to taking orders. They were trained for service in a Church

which had to a great extent lost the sense of a spiritual mission. The Church of England of the day offered a field where an ambitious man might look forward, not so much to a great career, as to large rewards. There was much need to guard against the sordid aims and interests which can only be exorcised by healthy and genuine enthusiasm. As in the sixteenth century, so in the nineteenth, new intellectual interests were awakened, and these proved strong enough to exercise a purifying influence, as they made their power felt in this University. Notable Cambridge men were making their mark on academic life, simultaneously with the Oxford movement but in another fashion. There was sixty years ago a great awakening of a scientific spirit both as regards physical investigations and literary study; and the years which have elapsed have shown not only that the University could rise to take a foremost place in prosecuting such work, but that the college system could also be modified so as to co-operate actively in these developments. The colleges have once more shown that they could adapt themselves to meet the requirements of a new generation which cherishes new academic ideals.

III.

In every such revolution there must be loss as well as gain. Doubtless there was some loss of *esprit-de-corps* in the loosening of the ties which bound this college to East Anglia; though the successful assimi-

lation of varied elements, drawn from a world-wide area, is in itself a proof of the vigour of college life. But there have been other changes, in regard to which contemporaries may not be altogether well fitted to weigh the good against the evil. We know how John Caius, with his appreciation of ceremonial and love of symbolism deplored and resisted the complete abandonment in the college chapel of the religious usages to which he had been accustomed in his youth. There are some now, who come back to Cambridge after years of absence, and who seem to find that the changes in ecclesiastical conditions have been almost as marked in the nineteenth century as they were in the sixteenth. Clerical fellows and clerical interests no longer occupy the prominent place they formerly held in University affairs and college life.

Perhaps those who have lived through this change are not altogether fitted to view it dispassionately, to grasp its full significance, or to pronounce absolutely on the good or the evil it has included. Even from the strictest ecclesiastical standpoint there are undoubted elements of good in the decline in the number of clerical fellows; whatever else may be implied, it certainly means that men are to-day taking their ordination vows more seriously. Not only has the temptation to make them lightly ceased, but there is a keener sense of the obligations they impose. Under the high pressure of college work, as it is to-day, the pursuit of secular studies is necessarily so absorbing that it is not easy to combine with them "the diligence in reading the scriptures and in

such studies as help to the knowledge of the same" which is enjoined upon priests of the English Church. Whatever there may be to deplore in these changes at least let us remember that the old state of affairs was alike incompatible with the greater activity in college teaching and the higher sense of clerical duty which are current to-day.

There are other causes for anxiety in the comparatively slight regard shown by many members of the University to-day for opportunities of worship and religious teaching. According to a common impression, chapel discipline is less stringent than it used to be, and to my personal knowledge, the undergraduate attendance at parish churches and at the University sermon has greatly declined. There is a readiness to carry on voluntary and non-official religious services and associations, such as the Jesus Lane Sunday School and the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union; and I am not sure that the decreased interest in official arrangements for instruction or worship is rightly taken as an accurate indication of increasing indifference or irreligiousness[1]. The age when residence at the University was primarily and usually regarded as an apprenticeship for the clerical profession has passed away. In old days it had been fitting that men who were training for Holy Orders should form the habit of saying the daily offices, morning and evening. It was not

[1] The attendance at Afternoon Lectures on religious thought, and at Sunday Evening Sermons, which are non-official, has been a marked feature in Cambridge life during the last few years.

unnatural, too, that they should wish to hear favourite preachers and learn to form their ideas of pulpit style on such models, even if they had not all the enthusiasm of a Tillotson who usually listened to four sermons on Sundays and one on Wednesdays. There may often be critical study of the art of preaching that is of little benefit to the religious life; so far as worship is concerned, there is at least less temptation now to unreality than seems to have been the case in the time we have outlived. Cambridge to-day cannot aim at reflecting the habits of a clerical brotherhood but rather those of well-ordered English homes.

IV.

Even when such allowance is made, fully and frankly, there are some of us who cannot satisfy ourselves that all is well, or that we have been completely successful in reconstituting a new order that adequately embodies for our time the ideal that was present to the mind of John Caius. He seems to have felt so clearly that character ought to be built up on a religious basis. It is of the very essence of the work which the college, as he organised it, was intended to do. *By wisdom and learning graffed in grace and virtue men come to immortality.* These are his words, graffed in grace. We are keenly alive to the cultivation of wisdom which may enable those who have had an academic training to take a vigorous part in the affairs of the world. We are eager in the prosecution of learning; but how far are these

elements of human worth rendered consciously religious by being graffed in grace?

It is the hardest possible task in these days, with all the divergence of opinion and taste which shows itself on every side, with the keen sense of personal independence, and horror of convention and formality which characterise earnest minds, to see by what guidance and help true religion may be made to flourish among us more and more. The genuine sense of reverence before our Father in Heaven, the acceptance of our Lord as setting forth the ideal for our lives, the reliance on His inspiring Spirit, are not gifts that any human teacher can communicate. Yet all are needed to consecrate progress in moral and intellectual life, so that our knowledge may be less dissonant from His Omniscience, and our conduct in closer accord with His Will.

While all intellectual powers and manly virtues are to be admired, those surely are to be most highly prized, which flow directly from the life our Lord bestows, springing up unto life eternal. There is so much learning that seems to paralyse rather than to inspire to the vigorous service of man. We live in an age when our knowledge of the might of physical forces, the tyranny of inherited dispositions, the constraint of degrading circumstances are so present to our minds. They numb our energies, unless God shall give us faith in His power over all things, in the goodness of the Creator. And we have need of hope, as we look back on a past to which distance

seems to lend enchantment, while the stress and struggle around us make us feel we have fallen on evil days. We have need of hope; of a confidence in progress that is bred of a confidence in Him who is the God, not only of the dead and of the living, but of the generations that yet shall be. And we have need of charity, of the Spirit which believes and hears, and makes the best of the good, with all their faults, and of the bad, even though they seem to be utterly bad. Faith, Hope and Charity are the very foundations of the character of the man who goes forth to the battle of life with the most enduring courage. Learning of many kinds, equipment, organisation, these we can provide; let us remember how empty they all may be, how fruitless they may remain, unless God of His goodness shall add His blessing and bestow the wisdom which cometh from above.

VI

ON TAKING ORDERS[1]

The late Vice-Master, Mr Coutts Trotter, when preaching some years ago in Trinity Chapel, remarked that the question—whether to take Orders or not—had presented itself to the minds of those men in his generation, who hoped to stay up, in a very different light from that in which it had come to be viewed since the abolition of Tests. Fifty years ago the Junior Fellow would have asked himself, Is there any reason why I should *not* take Orders? whereas to-day he considers whether there is any reason why he should. This change has occurred, not only as regards fellows of colleges, but in what we may call other branches of the clerical profession, as recognised half a century ago. The schoolmaster will consider whether there is any reason why he should take Orders, rather than whether there is anything that ought to debar him.

[1] The second of a series of articles in the *Cambridge Review*, 1905, on *The Choice of a Profession*.

The man who hoped to lead a useful and philanthropic life in a family living, as a good neighbour and active administrator of county affairs, was doubtless content in the old days, if he saw no definite obstacle to being ordained. But with the very different standard of clerical duty which is now generally accepted, the honourable man must certainly consider whether there is good reason why he should take Orders.

When this fundamental question—in its modern form—has been answered in the affirmative, and any man has come to the conclusion that there are good reasons why he himself should take Orders, he will do well to consider the advantages and disadvantages of the life of a clergyman as a profession. There may be very good grounds for hesitation, and anxious weighing of the reasons *pro* and *con*, before he can feel clear whether it is a duty to carry out his intention or not. It is well that he should face the disabilities in anticipation, while he is also justified in taking account of possible compensations.

It is, perhaps, worth while to advert to one legal disability, though it probably does not press on one clergyman out of a thousand as a conscious grievance. Still, the priest of the Church of England is, as a matter of fact, debarred from sitting in the House of Commons. I had one friend who sacrificed his Orders with the aim of obtaining a seat—which he failed to get. Apart altogether from such exceptional cases, this inability to take an active part in the highest privileges of an English citizen, symbolises

a good deal of self-repression that many clergymen are called upon to exercise. There must be differences of political opinion; and the man who allows himself to be a vehement partisan is not unlikely to get quite out of touch with a section of his parishioners, so as to be less able to bring a religious influence to bear upon them. This is, indeed, but one instance out of many of the consideration for the tastes, and it may be the prejudices of others which is desirable, and which every parish priest does not find it easy to cultivate; but the failure to do so must impose serious limitations on the effectiveness of his ministrations.

There is also a literary disability. At a time when personal characteristics count for so much, the preacher is at a very considerable disadvantage as compared, for example, with the journalist. The writer for the Daily Press can let himself go; he can infuse his own personality into everything he writes; and an age which loves gossip, either about the living or the dead, responds with readiness. We are all fascinated by G. B. S.: a brilliant writer, who is so much interested in himself, cannot fail to make the subject attractive to his readers. We know how badly he was brought up—the diet he prefers—the massiveness of his boots—the kindness of casual strangers when he had his great bicycle accident—his painful associations with Queen's Hall, and so forth. Even lesser men depend for their effects on personal tricks of style, or the vivid reproduction of personal impressions. But from such arts the preacher

is necessarily precluded by the dignity of his office: he dare not attempt to be smart. It is not his aim to commend himself, but to speak for his Master. He has a message to give, and he must strive to render the form consonant with the weight of the matter; he has a trust to discharge, and is under the limitations of a trustee. Light-hearted irresponsibility of statement is not for him; in carefully endeavouring to be grave, he must consciously and deliberately run the risk of being dull.

It is a further disability that the clergyman's income has very little relation, if any, to the amount of his work and responsibility. As compared with other professional men, and with business men, he is sure to be poor. As a curate he can indeed obtain a salary on which he will be able to live—if he exercises a good deal more thought over his expenditure than the average undergraduate is accustomed to give. But after ten years' service, he is not unlikely to find that his means have not sensibly improved, and that the chance of obtaining a position in which he can prudently settle is very small. When his merits have been recognised, and he obtains a living, he will often be unable to look forward to any further improvement in his stipend, and many men have found that the incomes, on which they felt justified on counting, have not come up to their expectations. Even in the cases of very exceptional men, the pecuniary prospects are not promising; the Bishop of London's balance-sheet has shown that the men who obtain the most

highly paid posts are not necessarily in easy circumstances.

Still, there are compensations in a clerical life, in its merely professional aspects. It is no small thing that a man should at once enter on a position in which he finds plenty of very responsible work lying to his hand. The long years of waiting at the bar are proverbial, and we hear a good deal of the overcrowding of other professions. Neither the doctor nor the solicitor finds it quite easy to drop into a practice; and the lack of employment, during years when the hope of making a living is still deferred, is not an ordeal that all pass through successfully. The man in Deacon's Orders who goes into a parish, will soon find himself face to face with very grave issues, and learn, at least, his own incompetence, and the need of constantly taking pains to do his best.

It is no small thing, too, that in his duties he is brought into contact with human nature at its best,—aiming after right. I have heard a lawyer complain that the course of his business forced him to know so much of the sordid and less reputable concerns of his fellow-creatures; he was familiar with every skeleton in every cupboard in the district. The petty spite which finds expression in the wills which relatives contest, and the petty dishonesties by which men try to evade their obligations, were constantly on his mind. Perhaps he was unduly morbid; but it is no small privilege to come across human beings on their better side; to be the instrument of their benevolence, to suggest to them ways by which the

prosperous may help their poorer neighbours. That some, in talking to a parson, may assume virtues they do not possess is true enough; but when all these affectations are discounted, it is much to be forced to look for and to strive to encourage the good there is in the world.

There is a further advantage in the width and variety of intellectual interest in the studies which a clergyman may pursue in connection with his work. In many lines of business, a man may have to concentrate his attention on one special commodity. Lard had a prominent place in the *Letters* of the Chicago merchant to his son; apart from its probable price, it does not seem to lend itself naturally to any exercise of far-reaching thoughts. But there are so many different lines of study that have a direct bearing on the weekly task of the preacher; Hermeneutics and Biblical criticism are obviously requisite, and there is occasion for the consideration of philosophical problems, if he is to deal either with Theology or Ethics. And in seeking for illustration, he may rightly look into almost any field of knowledge, either of Nature or of History, since none lies outside the sphere of divine action. There is for him a duty to try and keep his mind alert to fresh interests of every kind, and bring out of his treasure house things new and old. In connection with his responsibilities for the preservation or improvement and decoration of the fabric of his church, and the rendering of the services, it may be incumbent on the parson to cultivate some knowledge of Architectural and Musical Art. In his

parish he will do his own work better if he has enough acquaintance with the conditions of health, and with business affairs, to be able to reinforce the advice of doctors and lawyers intelligently, on his own account.

While the clergyman gets into full responsibility early, he may also look forward to a long life of usefulness. There are professions in which a man soon gets to be past his best; superannuation comes to many officers in the Army at an early age, and the strain on a surgeon's nerve begins to tell before he is an old man. There certainly are lines of parish work, especially among boys and lads, in which youth has an immense advantage; but in other ways experience tells. An old man—even a very frail old man—may have a deep hold upon the hearts of his people, and be a trusted counsellor and guide to the very last. To such there need be no empty and desolate old age.

Viewed merely in its professional aspects, a clerical life has one serious drawback—in the prospective struggle with poverty—and many advantages. The disabilities lie on the surface—plain and obvious and very real; but the compensations are not to be forgotten; they are things that make life worth living.

VII

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN SOCIAL IDEALS[1]

I.

Christianity has nothing whatever to do with modern social ideals, as I understand the term; all attempts to reconstruct our economic life on some new basis, to re-apportion wealth more equally between the rich and poor, to rouse public opinion to the evils of gigantic trusts, and of allowing the means of production to be engrossed in private hands, lie outside the commission of the Church; she had better let them severely alone, and do her proper work as earnestly as she can. As clergy we shall do well to let others dispute as to the theory of society and the laws of the social order, as much as they like, and to set ourselves to bring our own lives personally, and the lives of those we can at all influence, into closer accord with the great Christian example of conduct and the traditional Christian principles of duty. The chief drawback which attaches to social ideals, ancient and modern—those

[1] A paper read at the Great Yarmouth Church Congress, 3 October, 1907.

of Plato and Sir Thomas More alike—is that nobody ever sees where to begin to bring them to bear in practice; the characteristic of social regeneration, in so far as it has been and is being effected by Christianity, is that each man, woman, or child is incited and aided to make things better in the sphere that is within his own control, and where he can act if he will. Christianity has a great deal to do with social regeneration, but has no use for mere social ideals, bred of earth and poised uneasily in air.

The undying importance of the work which Christianity is trying to do, as compared with the pleasant art of spinning social ideals, is not to be overlooked. I have had to make myself acquainted with many of the social ideals that have been current during the last century or more; with S. Simon, and Fourier, and the various experiments of Robert Owen; with the speeches of Henry George and Jesse Collings; with the writings of Mr Bellamy and Mr Blatchford; with the Fabians, and the Shavians, and Lady Warwick, and the Zionists, and the Christian Social Union; and I have come across all sorts of pretty theories. And of this I am certain—not any single one of them can be made to work, regularly and successfully, unless some means is found of cultivating in each and all the members of the community that personal sense of duty to be done which Christianity strives to foster. It may be quite possible to imagine better ways of inculcating this personal sense of duty to do the thing that lies nearest; but I know of none better. Whichever of the various

social ideals shall attract the largest crowd of followers, and by proving itself fittest, shall survive, it will not be possible to dispense with the personal sense of duty, and the personal burden of responsibility ; the work which Christianity is striving to do will still be needed under each and all. It is a far better thing to help a man to realise his ideal a little better, whatever it is, than to spend the time in discussing which ideal is best. Socialists, who devise systems which everyone ought to be made to adopt, seem to be inclined to assume that their model would maintain itself in perpetual motion if once it were started ; but there is at least a danger lest we should allow our dreams of the good that may be accomplished in a new order without effort, to excuse us from further attempts to bear the burdens of others, here and now. To insist on the duties of all other people, without fresh efforts to practise our own duties, is likely to weaken, not to strengthen, the moral fibre.

II.

The work of the world is done in different ways, according to physical conditions and the capacities of the various races of mankind ; the social ideal which suits a primitive tribe, unaccustomed to the use of money, would not be appropriate to a community of educated men in the State of New York ; one type of social organisation is expedient in one place, and another in another ; there is no one

ideal that is thinkable for all mankind in their diverse circumstances, and with their distinct traditions and aspirations and standards of comfort. For each country or tribe we may sketch lines of possible progress, along which that particular community, and others of the same type, may advance to another stage of welfare. As things are in the present day, it is possible that the line of advance for us in Great Britain is to be found by a course of socialistic experiments, in the nationalisation of land, or the municipalisation of factories, and the county-councilisation of agriculture. But these are experiments in organising the work of the world; if they are expedient and successful, they will oust private enterprise without injury to the public. But changes of this sort, from one type of organisation to another, do not involve any principle of duty; it was not a duty in the eighteenth century to combine small holdings into large farms as fast as possible, because the latter were proving more remunerative; it was a gain to the nation at the time, and it inflicted much hardship on individuals. The ousting of private capitalists before a great State monopoly of railways, or from the ownership of land, may be an advantage to the public at large, but it is a gain that will be obtained at the expense of much disappointment and loss. By all means let us have these things, if they are really better and cheaper to the community in the long run, and the work of the country is done as well and with less drudgery. But such changes are really brought about by successful competition,

and by meeting the circumstances of the case better. There would be no fresh opportunity of practising the virtues of universal brotherhood on a nationalised railroad, either for the passenger who pays his fare or for the guard who punches the tickets. All such changes are matters of expediency, of better means of meeting the convenience of place and time. They do not themselves raise us to a higher moral plane. Practical men of affairs may be trusted to settle the matter sooner or later. There is the greater vigour of private enterprise on the one side, and on the other the long purse behind a business organisation that can draw upon the rates. The preferability of one system or another must be discussed by experts and settled by experience : there is no need for the clergy to preach on behalf of one method of organisation or the other.

III.

So long as these changes are regarded as expedients, and are discussed *pro* and *con* on grounds of expediency, we are on perfectly firm ground ; just because the progress of Socialism is being treated in its economic aspects, and not as an ethical system. When Socialism assumes this latter character the difficulty begins ; its projects are not criticised from the point of view of expediency, but held up as ideals, and invested with a sort of glamour. Socialism, as an ideal and an inspiration, appeals to an immense and a rapidly growing number of people in the present day ; but, from the Christian point of view,

it seems a very meagre ideal, because (*a*) it cannot be universal for all mankind alike ; and (*b*) because it involves a materialistic assumption. If (*a*) we take up any one social scheme, and treat it as the thing that is absolutely right, and that has the sanction of Christ, then we are condemning all other social schemes as wrong. It is perhaps true to say that for rapid progress in the development of natural resources, the system of private enterprise is essential, and that socialistic institutions will serve admirably for maintaining a given degree of comfort in a stationary state, as Mill termed it. But with the awakening of the East, we see that many nations are eager to become progressive ; while others, like many of the African tribes, are perfectly content to remain in a somewhat squalid stationary state. Is a modern social ideal to be imposed ready-made on all backward peoples, or is it held out as the goal at which they will eventually arrive ? Are we to try to help them to reach this goal with less stress and strain than the Anglo-Saxon race has gone through in attaining its present preparedness for modern ideals ? What is to be done in countries like Natal ? How are the English and Dutch, the Asiatics, and the Kaffirs, to be worked into one amalgam ? In the world as we know it, any modern social ideal is of very narrow applicability, it has no pretension to be a gospel for all men everywhere. And (*b*) modern Socialism always seems to assume that we can count, for certain, that human sentiments will grow to order if we supply the right conditions ; and that in an

environment of brotherhood men would easily become brotherly. I am inclined to think that this opinion, so far as it has been tested, is quite untrue[1]; but I will only say that there is not sufficient ground for assuming it as an axiom; and it is worth while to note that this doctrine is very difficult to reconcile with Christianity. Our Christian belief is that life develops from within; that it is by spiritual influence in the heart that good may be attained in the outward sphere. Individuals and social environment act and re-act on one another, but there is an enormous difference according as we lay the accent on one side or the other. We may regard the condition of the human race, as a whole, as determined by environment of climate and soil, or we may hold that every step in progress has come about from intellectual and moral initiative[2]. However much it may be a duty to remove external obstacles to right and good, it is from the heart within that the creative and regenerative principle works.

As contrasted with modern social ideals the doctrine of Christ has a spiritual character; and it is also of immediate practical applicability in every condition of place and time, so that it has a true universality. Our Lord has set before us an example of the constant effort to carry out His Father's will in all the relations of life; the consciousness of His Father's presence was with Him all the time, and affected His whole attitude, not only towards His

[1] Cunningham, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 55.
[2] Cunningham, *Western Civilisation*, II. 283.

fellow-men, but towards the animate creation, and the inanimate too; and yet He does not seem to have formulated any "social ideal" as to the distribution of property. He did not need any such scheme in order to aid Him in His great work. And during all the nineteen hundred years, throughout the whole world where the gospel has been preached, it has been possible for every human being—slave or free, man or woman—to try to guide his conduct by the two great principles of Christian duty in regard to economic life; on the one hand, to regard all his property and talents as a trust committed to him by God, and to be administered, not irresponsibly, but as the terms of the trust require; and secondly, there is the duty of work—of trying to give effect, by personal exercise of mind or body, to the will of God. If we are in earnest in trying to mould our lives after this model, and in accordance with these principles, the devising of a social order will seem to be surplusage—not a thing we feel to be a help. Of these Christian principles it may at least be said that they are not specially modern and are not merely ideal.

IV.

There are doubtless many Churchmen who, while they would accept the view indicated above of the social function which the Church may try to discharge, are yet influenced by the feeling that this kind of duty, and this sort of testimony to what

ought to be done, have been left too much in the background. The people who write letters in the daily papers are always insisting that the Church has been too much occupied with the devotional, or the dogmatic, or the world to come, and not sufficiently concerned with philanthropy; or even that the Church has always taken the side of the rich against the poor. It seems to be a stock sentiment at Christian Social Union meetings that the Church of this day must waken up to repair the neglect of centuries. But I have looked in vain for any evidence of this special neglect. I am not saying that the Church has ever risen to her vocation and privileges in the exposition of Christian truth, or the evangelisation of the heathen, or any other department of Christian activity. She has come terribly short in all; but I do not think she has been especially neglectful in regard to economic life and the material welfare of human beings. I will not repeat what I said elsewhere[1], but will only deal with one point. What seems to me to be the root evil in the capitalistic system of the present day, is the sense of irresponsibility of so many capitalists; they excuse themselves because they do not know, and could not help it if they did. The proprietors of the shares in the railway or industrial companies never come in personal contact with those they employ; they know nothing of them, and have no personal sense of responsibility in regard to the conditions of their lives. The directors of

[1] Cunningham, *Gospel of Work*, 134.

any such company are bound to consider the interests of the shareholders with whose property they are entrusted. The limit within which they can honestly afford to try generous experiments is exceedingly small. In so far as the capital is borrowed, it is of vital importance that the earnings should be maintained. This characteristic of the system is much to be regretted, but it has not come into being because of any neglect by the Church; the Church did her very best to prevent it. The rapid growth of capitalism in this country may be placed in the time of Elizabeth and James I, and during that period Parliament was so anxious that the accumulation of capital, and the transference and investment of capital, should have free play, that it deliberately waived Christian morality aside. We have recently seen that Parliament has declined to maintain, by civil disabilities, the Church's doctrine in regard to marriage—while not attempting to abrogate it for ecclesiastical purposes—and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Parliament treated the Church in exactly the same way with regard to her doctrine of what was fair and right in the use of capital. According to the old Christian law, which is retained in Canon CIX. of 1603, Christians were to scrutinise carefully the manner in which capital was invested and see that they did not gain—however little—by an oppressive use of money power. The view which Parliament took was that capitalists need not trouble about the matter so long as the gain they got was only moderate. From 1624 usury became allowable

by the law of the land, so long as it was not excessive; but the scruples of Churchmen were respected, just as they have been in the Deceased Wife's Sister Act, by the proviso that this Statute should not be interpreted to "allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience[1]." It is idle to speculate what would have happened if something else had not happened; if the old restrictions had been maintained, the political course of English history must have been very different. The moneyed man exercised extraordinary influence both during the Civil War and at the Revolution; the money power of Great Britain played no small part in baulking the ambition of Napoleon. Nor is it possible to imagine how the economic life of England would have been shaped, if it had been practical to maintain the old doctrine; all I argue is, that it would have been shaped differently, and the special evils of our capitalist system would not have shown themselves in the same way, if the arguments of Andrewes and Fenton had carried weight. The Church did not connive at our present system; her effort to prevent it from coming into being was set aside by civil power The same sort of activity was shown not merely in legislative but in administrative matters, and in endeavouring to get employers to live up to moral, rather than merely legal, obligations to the employed. There was a great trade depression in 1622 and 1623, but the Privy Council insisted that employers should continue to employ

[1] 21 James I, c. 17.

their workmen as they had done when trade was good. This had been the view of Wolsey, and it was maintained by ecclesiastical statesmen in Stuart times. Now, there is no need to discuss whether these measures were practicable and wise—in fact, whether they were expedient or not; it is enough to say that the policy of Churchmen was not one of tame acquiescence in the growth of irresponsible capitalism in industry. These ecclesiastics may have been wise or they may have been foolish; but at least they did not ally themselves with the wealthy, or neglect to consider the claims of the poor. We will do well to imitate the philanthropic zeal of bygone generations rather than to preen ourselves on our intention of making up for their neglects.

V.

Undoubtedly the principal reason why so many men desire that the Church should devote more attention to economic questions, is that they see in Socialism the attractive force of the day; they feel the genuine earnestness of its advocates, and they long that the Church should exert herself to capture this great influence and so be able to use and direct it to the highest ends. They cordially and gladly recognise the real hatred of oppression, the genuine desire of fair play for all, which lies at the root of modern Socialism. They feel that men, who are against such things, are on the side of our Master, though they may not recognise Him; and

that it is our first duty to go out of our way, if by any means we may induce them to look with less suspicion on His leadership. Yet there is need to be sure of our ground: just because the enthusiasm of humanity is so glorious and noble, the pity is all the greater if it is misdirected. With Socialists, personally and individually, we may have the keenest sympathy and the closest relations, while yet we ought to view Socialism—social ideals—with very critical eyes; the transition to a new order would mean loss for certain to some portions of the community. If that new order were not to answer to the expectations of its promoters, there is at least a prospect of decadence in the community as a whole, and of increased misery for its members generally. There are optimists who seem to think that Socialism would certainly be materially beneficial to the masses, and morally beneficial to the classes. There are pessimists who believe it would mean material ruin for the population generally, and the loss of all that is best worth having in the civilisation that has been built up through centuries. It is not for any man lightly to throw his influence, whatever it may be, on one side or other of the scale; he is bound to satisfy himself that Socialism will make, on the whole and in the long run, for human welfare. Seriously to study this question is difficult; to try to test the precise grounds for the hopes of enthusiasts is thankless. There seems to be more excuse for accepting Socialism lightly, as an impression has got abroad that some new school of political economy has arisen,

which has shown that the classical economists were all wrong. The classical economists made one very serious mistake: they were so thoroughly convinced of the truth of their principles that they were ready to apply them crudely, and to deal with any question which arose offhand. There has been a great advance since their time in the understanding of the limits, and of the manner in which economic principles should be applied. Professor Sidgwick[1] made this topic one of the main divisions of his book, and the increased attention to empirical and historical investigation is a recognition of the importance of this aspect of the subject. But the development of the new school supplements the old; it does not imply that the principles of the old have been abandoned, still less that the old political economy was antagonistic to Christianity, while the new is not. The great treatise on the whole subject by Professor Nicholson, which was completed some six years ago, follows very closely on the traditional lines of English political economy, and the last chapter on the relation of economics to morality and Christianity is admirable in the extreme[2]. The impression, which is conveyed in a recent report to the Convocation of Canterbury on the "Moral Witness of the Church," that the teaching of the old economists was ruthless and godless, seems to me entirely mis-

[1] *Principles of Political Economy*, 401.

[2] Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*, III. 427. Those who contrast two schools should compare this most recent pronouncement with Whately's treatment of the same subject in the opening chapters of his *Political Economy*.

taken. The more I read of them the more I admire their acumen and range of knowledge, and their desire to use that knowledge for the real benefit of all classes of the community. Their mistake was, as I believe, terribly serious, but very venial. Intellectually they were guilty of hasty generalisation; they thought that what held good of their own time and country might be put in general terms and taken as true for all time and places[1]. They did not allow enough for the progress of discovery, and for changes both in human beings and in society. Morally, if we must search for elements of moral turpitude in their composition, they were a little self-conceited; they did know a great deal more about the economic working of society than the men of any other generation had done, and they thought they knew more about it than they really did. But though the statement of their doctrine has been modified, the main principles are substantially unchanged; we have come to learn better the precise limits within which the principles are true, and the considerations of which account must be taken in applying them. The older political economy has not been upset, it has only been corrected, as every body of scientific truth is corrected, with continued study. This is certainly the case with two great principles which modern social idealists are apt to overlook—the Malthusian doctrine of population, and the principle of diminishing return from land. However earnest and enthusiastic Socialists may be, anyone incurs a

[1] Cunningham, *Growth of Industry in Modern Times*, 740.

great responsibility by assenting to their programme without being quite convinced that it is really sound.

For an ideal that rouses enthusiasm and concentrates public attention in a democratic country is in a way obstructive. Whilst the fascination lasts, nothing else can get a hearing. Some sixty years ago there was a great discussion in regard to the advantages of small holdings and allotments. A select committee of the House of Commons brought in a most admirable report, in which they distinguished the conditions and circumstances in which small holdings were likely to be a success from those in which they had proved a failure[1]. A Bill was prepared to try and meet the great want of rural England, but it got little support, and had to be dropped; it never took a hold on the public. At that time the struggle over the Corn Laws was going on; Free Trade was put forward as an ideal, and the harbinger of universal peace. Small holdings and allotments did not seem worth consideration; the project of promoting them could only, as was said in the House of Commons, tend to raise delusive hopes. "Why adopt a doubtful expedient when a remedy was before them, whose efficacy nobody questioned[2]." We have had sixty years of this Free Trade, and there are very few people who, after that experience, regard it as a panacea now. The exaggerated enthusiasm for it

[1] *Report on the Labouring Poor* (*Allotments*), in *Reports*, 1843, v.

[2] *Hansard*, LXVIII, 857.

helped to delay a much-needed practical reform; and after sixty years we are falling back on that so-called doubtful remedy. But, and this is what I wish to insist upon, there was, as I believe, far more excuse in the circumstances of England in 1843 for trusting to Free Trade as a panacea than there is in 1907 for committing ourselves unhesitatingly to modern Socialism in any of its forms. Those who recognise the good intentions of modern social idealists may yet regard modern social ideals with alarm, partly because they seem likely to prove injurious to the community generally and to the poor in particular, partly because they distract men from engaging steadily in humble but practical reforms. We ought to reckon up, not only the possible mischief which may be done, but also the harm that arises from the delay of real improvements, before we begin to play with this sort of fire.

VIII

THE CLERGY AND PARTY POLITICS[1]

I.

The question as to the attitude of the parish priest to party politics is not merely of academic interest; it is one of considerable practical difficulty and importance. Things are sometimes done in the supposed interests of a party which we find it difficult to approve, and there is, to many of the clergy, a temptation to hold aloof from party politics altogether. But in a country, or a town, where all the administrative work is carried on by one or other of two responsible parties, the attempt to keep clear of party seems to lead inevitably to the abjuring of any active part in political life, and to the abnegation of the rights and duties of citizenship. Those of us who recognise that the privileges of an English citizen are a great trust, which we are bound to exercise to the best of our power, may feel strongly that the parish priest ought to be, personally, an example of the careful and earnest discharge of his own political duties.

[1] An address at Sion College, London, 3 Oct., 1906, and published in the *National Review*, Vol. L. p. 128.

A solution of the difficulty, which appears at first sight to be simple and sufficient, is frequently put forward by those who try to distinguish between political duties, and to range them in order of importance. It seems possible to specify certain matters as fundamental—things on which all good citizens ought to be agreed, and to rally the forces of right and order against any attack upon them, while other matters—the ordinary routine of the national affairs—may be left to be dealt with by party politicians. This feeling finds vigorous expression in a sermon by Phillips Brooks[1], and it often colours episcopal utterances on current affairs. They treat the acknowledgment and furthering of religion by the State as a matter of fundamental importance that should be "above party." Again, much of the Colonial criticism of British politics is made from a similar standpoint; it is said that Imperial affairs ought to be regarded as "above party" considerations. This distinction is plausible, and is very generally accepted, but for all that I venture to urge that, if we look at it closely and carefully, we shall find it quite untenable.

1 "The first result of the application of these principles will be that only a true moral issue will provoke your utterance. You will not turn the pulpit into a place where you can throw out your little scheme for settling a party quarrel or securing a party triumph. But when some clear question of right and wrong presents itself, and men with some strong passion or sordid interest are going wrong, then your sermon is a poor untimely thing if it deals only with the abstractions of eternity, and has no word to help the men who are dizzied with the whirl and blinded with the darkness of to-day."—Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, 141.

Its practical consequences seem to me most unsatisfactory, for it implies that the ordinary routine of the nation's business does not matter very much, and may be left to be done by anybody and in any way. In so far as any community acquiesces in this view, there is only too much danger that its affairs will get into the hands of men who are either incompetent or self-seeking, and that government will become inefficient or corrupt. Good government cannot be secured except by honest and careful administration of national and municipal affairs. Democratic communities are specially liable to alternate between long periods of carelessness about some matter, and sudden and drastic remedies when the evil has become a public danger. The weakness of Holland, at the time of her greatest wealth, has been traced to this cause. The political life of a community cannot be healthy if the best men excuse themselves from taking up the burden of public duty as a regular thing, and are content instead to head an occasional outburst of righteous indignation.

But, apart from this practical consideration, there is a more serious difficulty: we cannot distinguish between the fundamental and the relatively unimportant so easily as seems to be supposed. Any issue may come unexpectedly to be of the first importance. The epidemic of cholera in 1831 called attention to the gross neglect of sanitary precautions; the potato famine accentuated the unsatisfactory state of rural conditions in Ireland. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal and at Klondyke has greatly

altered the population and political importance of these parts of the Empire. In a living community there is no element that can be ruled out as necessarily and entirely unimportant, or as a thing which we can afford to neglect.

If we look at it from this side, we might also say that there is no element in our political life that is of absolute importance. There are no fundamental laws of the Constitution which can only be modified under exceptional conditions, and with special precautions. The Coronation oath has been taken to supply such a body of fundamental principles: it did not prevent, but only delayed, the process of Catholic emancipation. In the seventeenth century it was common for men to treat the institution of monarchy as a divine ordinance, a reflex on earth of the government of the world. This view was taken, both in the canons passed by Convocation in 1640, and by the Presbyterians in the Covenant. It seemed to be part of the duty of the Christian minister to advocate royalty as against republicanism. But it is no longer possible to hold that any element in our political life is of such absolute importance that all good men must necessarily be united in support of it, and that its opponents are necessarily unscrupulous and bad. Consequently, the minister who discourses from the pulpit on any political topic is in danger of going outside the terms of his commission; his political duty is not official as a priest, but personal as a citizen.

II.

We cannot really draw any line between what should be above party controversy and what may be left in the arena of party strife; and, if we could, there would be a danger of lowering the whole tone of our public life. Our present system of party government is not very old, but it is in many ways convenient, and I do not anticipate that it is likely to be replaced in the near future by anything else. So long as it lasts, there is every reason to believe that the most important issues will be dragged into the vortex of party politics, and that the effort to keep them out, even if it were well-advised, would be futile. This is certainly the case with all religious questions; there is so much affinity between religious and political principles, that the party which professes one set of political principles is almost certain to take a definite line on any religious question that comes up for discussion on political platforms.

The inherent connection between the points of view which men take on political and religious questions is not difficult to detect. There are two aspects in which we may look on any society: (1) the individuals who compose it, and (2) the institutions which give it cohesion and direct it. Each is dependent on the other: the character of the individuals is shown in the institutions under which they habitually live; the good or evil of the institutions is reflected in the individuals formed by them. These aspects are

in a way opposed: the individual is disciplined and controlled by institutions, and in turn he endeavours to modify the system under which he lives so that it may serve the public convenience better. Neither can be taken absolutely or pressed to an extreme. The exaggeration of "institutionalism" would lead to a stereotyped caste system, with no possibility of healthy growth; the exaggeration of individualism would reduce any community to mere anarchy. There are some of us who attach immense importance to institutions, and hold that it is by its institutions that one country is distinguished from another—not by the virtues of individual citizens—and that the national character we prize is perpetuated by the maintenance of institutions; they are the heritage of the past and the assurance of healthy national life in the future. But, on the other hand, there are those whose minds are habitually fixed on the individual, and are impressed with the desirability of giving as much free scope as possible for individual development. Men who take this view will be keen to maintain the rights of individuals, and sensitive to any unnecessary limitation on the freedom of individual action; while those who are enthusiastic about the importance of institutions, will be inclined to lay more stress on the duties of individuals as members of the community. In political life this difference of temperament will show itself in the division between Tories—laying stress on the preservation of national institutions—and Radicals; but the two habits of mind also give a line of cleavage in regard to religious matters.

Churchmen place a high value on Christian institutions —as forming and training priests and people in the Christian life—while Puritans generally regard a church as composed by association from groups of like-minded Christian men. To the Puritan, individual conviction and freedom for individual development are the main thing in religion, and hence there is a close connection between Puritanism in religion and Radical opinions in politics; while similarly the association of Toryism and Churchmanship is not accidental, but is due to real affinity in habits of thought. Hence it follows that it is not only impossible to keep religious questions apart from ordinary politics, but that, in so far as they come in at all, religious questions must be made a party matter, because the main lines of cleavage correspond with the main lines of cleavage in political life.

Or, to turn to the other case referred to above, Imperial questions cannot be kept above party; they are likely to become the main ground of division between parties in the near future. Though Englishmen are supposed to be indifferent to foreign politics, it is yet, I believe, true to say that the attitude they were prepared to take towards some external power has very often had great influence in determining the fate of different parties. The attitude taken on Imperial questions by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is very different from that of Mr Balfour; there are real differences of principle involved, and on neither side can these be honestly ignored.

There is little substantial difference between the

two parties as to the desirability of opening up new countries, and of introducing improvements by means of railways and other public works; both would approve of developing the physical resources of the areas under our control, though the antagonism between labour and capital at home is reflected in the criticism that is directed by some Liberals against the pioneers in this sort of private enterprise. Both political parties recognise that there is grave difficulty in governing two races on one soil, and feel the burden of the responsibility in regard to this attempt. Both parties desire to use the influence and power of Britain for the good of the races who have come under our control, but we may note that there are very different views as to the means by which this is to be done. The training of subject races has an analogy in the problems of home life, and the training of children to be useful members of society. In the household it is desirable that there should be authority and discipline—and also that there should be kindliness, so that differences of taste and disposition may have free play. The father may possibly lay more stress on the need of discipline, and be regarded as harsh; the mother may possibly be inclined to give scope for individual idiosyncrasy, and be liable to the imputation of spoiling the children by letting them each do as they like. Where a kindly discipline is maintained, the problem is most successfully solved; there is most danger of disastrous failure where periods of harsh assertion alternate with other times of complete laxity. The

analogy of two well-meaning parents, who are not altogether successful in bringing up their family, is suggested by the recent history of the British Empire. The Radical is all for a magnanimous course of treating the subject races with gentleness; and for giving the untutored savage much free play, even if he greatly misuses his opportunities. The Tory fears that generosity may be mistaken for weakness, and that this course may undermine all authority and shake the foundations on which government rests, so as eventually to give rise to disorder and rebellion, which must then be forcibly repressed. Reliance on generosity and reliance on authority are two distinct views as to the more important elements in working towards a certain definite end, and they are each views that may be honestly and vehemently held by upright men of different experience and temperaments. The changes of Imperial policy which come about with changes of party are not, as some seem to think, entirely due to mere partisan jealousy which desires to reverse the action of predecessors in office, but arise from distinct differences of principle as to the manner in which the affairs of the Empire may be most wisely carried on.

III.

In so far as party distinctions rest on real differences of principle, there is no occasion to disparage the organisation of political forces in parties. The honest man can best do his duty

as a citizen, not by holding aloof from party, but by associating himself with the party which stands for the principles that appeal to him most strongly as wise and right. It is a senseless affectation to be a politician who is above party, but it is possible to aim at being a party man who is above partisanship. We may try to draw a line between what is worthy and unworthy in politics—not by dissociating ourselves from party organisation, but by trying to work on party lines in an honest and honourable fashion. The honest party man believes that it is on the principles of his party that the public weal can be best advanced; the mere partisan does not look beyond his party to the public weal at all. For practical purposes it is easy to draw a rough and ready line between the two by noting the weapons which each will use in controversy with opponents. The honest party man recognises that his opponents are well-meaning and honest too, and therefore he assumes that the difference between them is intellectual—in forecasting the probable effects of a given course of conduct. The partisan is eager to disparage his opponents, and therefore treats the differences as moral, and denounces their motives as wicked. Hence the honest party man takes a course which may be convincing sooner or later, as personal abuse can never be. It is possible for the Tory to point out the results of Majuba, and to give his forecast of the results of upsetting the Lyttelton Constitution in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, without impugning the motives or moral character of those who

were responsible for the action of which he disapproves—only the judgment.

This seems to me to be the line which self-respect demands that we should, as party men, take in political controversy; though I do not think that it will necessarily be inoffensive. When feeling runs high, as it does over the Free Trade question at the present time, it is hardly possible to express any opinion at all without incurring blame from one side or the other; and to take the supercilious line, of professing to be indifferent on a matter of vital importance, is certain to give just cause of offence to earnest men on both sides. But after all it is not by the irritation they cause to opponents that the tone of controversial arguments can be judged, but rather by the question *whether they are capable of being substantiated or not.* Some of the clergy who have intervened on the Free Trade side in the Tariff discussion do not accept this canon as to the ethics of controversy; but when it is disregarded there is serious danger lest men who are conscious of being high-minded should yet have recourse to the methods of mere partisans. The picture of Tariff Reformers which has been painted by the Bishop of Hereford[1] and some eminent clergy[2] does not seem to me to be drawn from life. It is absurd to condemn us as neglectful of recognised moral principles, because we do not accept the gospel of free competition between all nations and races of mankind. We are not

[1] *Times*, January 21, 1904.
[2] *Guardian*, November 23, 1904.

regardless of the sufferings of the poor; we know that if a country pursues a course that is economically unsound the poor are sure to be the greatest sufferers. It is just because we are earnestly concerned about the welfare of the poorer classes that we are most anxious to call attention to the sophistry, as we regard it, of Free Trade, and to the necessity of endeavouring to secure open markets for our goods. Tariff Reformers may find some satisfaction in seeing that their opponents are so much inclined to fall back on statements which, from their very nature, cannot be substantiated. It is obvious that those who, in opposing certain measures, concentrate their attack on the alleged motives of the men who advocate them, are asserting something that it is not easy for them to prove. I recognise that I may be mistaken about my own motives, but I do not admit the pretensions of other people to interpret them authoritatively.

The same principle, which precludes personal attacks on men, may give some guidance as to the manner in which measures should be discussed. There is the greatest temptation, in the effort to state an opinion forcibly, to be guilty of some exaggeration, and to put the matter more strongly than there is warrant for doing. In current controversy much capital has been made by Free Traders out of the cry of the Little Loaf, and the comparison of the conditions of the working classes in the 'forties with the state of things to-day. From the point of view of the partisan that comparison has been justified; it has been a very effective party cry. But have the high-minded

clerical Radicals who have used it, in some form or other, considered whether they can substantiate it, or whether they have been guilty of exaggeration? Taking into account the present sources of supply and the prospective changes in the near future, do they really think that a 2*s.* duty, with remission to Canada, India, and Australia, would cause a substantial rise in the price of food? Taking into account the reduction of tariffs of other kinds, and the new facilities for communication and the effects of the gold discoveries, are they quite certain that the reduction of the price of food was the essential and important element which brought about English industrial progress in the twenty-five years which succeeded the repeal of the Corn Laws? If they read the *Nineteenth Century* article in which Mr Gladstone attempted to discriminate between the effects on material prosperity of railway enterprise and of Free Trade, in the larger sense in which he used the term[1], they will see that according to his analysis

[1] Mr Gladstone took the period of railway enterprise from 1831 to 1842 as giving an indication of the constant influence which might be ascribed to improved communications, and noted the waves of progress in our trade which followed on the successive doses of Free Trade in the largest sense. Up to 1866, the date when his examination closes, the fall in the price of corn was inconsiderable—it was not enough to cause any general drop in rents; hence it is obvious that cheaper bread was not a main element in causing this vast prosperity. Indeed, in Mr Gladstone's first period of Free Trade, after Sir R. Peel's Budget of 1842, the Corn Laws were still in existence; and during the period of seven years after the Budget of 1853, which he regards as the most marked outburst of prosperity, the average price of corn was actually a trifle higher than during the seven years before the repeal.—*Nineteenth Century* (1880), VII.

cheap food was not a very important factor. There is no excuse for treating the supreme importance of cheap bread as axiomatic; and hence the exaggeration involved in the use they made of the cry of the Little Loaf has seemed to me palpable. This points to another ground of discrimination, since the attitude of the partisan and of the honest party man, when any of their statements are seriously challenged, will not be the same. The partisan will merely consider how far the argument has been effective; while the honest man will desire, for his own sake, if for nothing else, to see whether it is sound. There is an apparent inconsistency in the attitude of the Radicals who profess to maintain Cobden's policy, and yet insist on cheap food as essential to prosperity. Have they any reason for repudiating the economic doctrine of Cobden and Gladstone—that open markets rather than cheap food are what really matters to an industrial community—except that the principle is maintained by Tariff Reformers to-day, as it was by Tariff Reformers in the 'forties? It is not by the occasional enunciation of moral sentiments, but by the constant endeavour to keep controversy on impersonal lines and to use sound arguments, that the tone of political life can be raised.

The clergy will best do their duty as citizens by honest acceptance of the party system and by the endeavour to use it honourably. The affectation of being above party, with the disparagement of party organisation, lends itself readily to the baser forms of wire-pulling. There is a real danger that clerical

politicians should try to play off one political party against another and treat ecclesiastical interests as outside party politics, in the hope of bargaining successfully with each party in turn. Any such scheme is destined to utter failure, partly because there is no precise agreement of Church opinion as to what ecclesiastical interests really are; some of us believe that Disestablishment would invigorate the Church, and some of us fear it would be an injury. But more than this, Churchmen generally—whether clerical or lay—are not prepared to treat ecclesiastical interests as paramount, nor to sacrifice the good government of the country to any consideration of this kind. There is no such solidarity or certainty in the Church vote as to induce party managers to attach a great deal of importance to it. Efforts to stand in with both sides are not likely to be successful, and they are terribly mischievous, for they have the appearance of evil. It is a serious thing to set an example of putting "interests" of any kind in the forefront—however important they may be—and of being ready to regard them exclusively and to the neglect of the general good government of the realm. After all, it is in the concentration of attention on particular interests that the essence of partisanship consists. We are less likely to lose the sense of proportion and drift into this partisan attitude if we clear our minds of all the cant of being "above party," and are honestly devoted to the maintenance of the political principles we have adopted, whatever they may be.

IX

PASSIVE RESISTANCE[1]

I.

THERE has often been in Christian countries a tendency to try and bring the government of the Church into line with the system of administration that is in vogue in civil affairs, and this desire finds frequent expression in our democratic age. But the work of government in the Church necessarily differs very much from that of conducting public business as it is commonly conceived in democratic countries in the present day. The current view seems to be that all citizens, or all tax-payers, have a right to see that their interests are cared for and their views represented, so that public affairs may be carried on in accordance with their ideas; rightly or wrongly, this seems to be commonly considered the very essence of self-government in a State. But in regard to Church government we have responsibilities rather than rights; God has given His truth to the world, He has instituted the ordinances by which it may be

[1] A charge to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Ely, delivered in Great S. Mary's, Cambridge, 27 April, 1907.

maintained and diffused: we have the responsibility of handing on to coming generations and of diffusing throughout the world the faith once delivered to the saints; put more precisely, we are bound to endeavour to maintain the doctrine and discipline of Christ as this realm has received the same. Hence there can be no claim to a right to have effect given to our opinions, or respect paid to our interests, while there is a responsibility for maintaining Christian Faith and Christain ordinances, and for removing all obstacles to their being more generally accepted. The government of the Church of England is episcopal; the responsibility for decisions and actions rests with the Bishops, but they habitually endeavour to consult their clergy and to obtain suggestions and opinions on any course they may contemplate. It is important that all of us, who have anything to do with the administration of Church affairs, should bear in mind the precise nature of this privilege, as it must affect the whole spirit in which we approach our task. The Church is not a sort of mutual improvement society, which certain men have formed, and of which the members can change the constitution if they like: or if they wish, are free to break up altogether. The Church exists in order to maintain and diffuse and apply the means which God has provided for redeeming men from sin; all who help to administer it are trustees of a great treasure and dare not, for any objects, however desirable, alter the character of the trust.

There are probably few men who have acted as

trustees, who are not familiar with appeals from a husband to be allowed to invest his wife's money in his business; or from a brother who has persuaded his sisters that it would be a good thing for all of them if he were free to use their money as he liked. The arguments in such a case are always plausible, but are never sound; and we are in danger of being misled by plausible argument in ecclesiastical matters, if we press the analogy with human societies too far, and allow ourselves to forget that we are all, in our various spheres, responsible for administering a trust. It is only to a very limited extent that we are justified in attempting to conform our worship or teaching or habits to the tastes and opinions that are current in the present day. Conformity to the world about us is always easy, but it is not necessarily the best way to help on the divine work of transforming mankind by the renewing of the mind.

II.

There are two matters in regard to which Churchmen are commonly adjured to set themselves to be up-to-date. Many changes are advocated in our worship and teaching, on the ground that in the twentieth century it is absurd to maintain the arrangements that were made some three or four centuries ago, and that it is necessary to take pains to attract by suiting more modern taste, and by accommodating our teaching as much as possible to modern thought. This we are assured is the surest

way to overcome the indifference to religion that is so widespread in the present day. And certainly all that weans men from lower interests and draws them to the unseen and eternal is good; the attraction that was exercised by our Lord's human kindliness did lead to a perception of the Divine Love which inspired it. But extraneous attractions are different; the attraction of extremely beautiful music may appeal to lovers of music without evoking any but artistic feeling. The important question is not Whether the service attracts or not, but To what does it attract? Efforts to meet the artistic sense of the present day may be perfectly successful in catering for popular taste, and yet fail in doing anything to elevate the hearts and minds of those who attend in adoration unto the Lord. And the attraction afforded by preaching on topics of current interest does not necessarily consecrate the subjects; it may merely give a new excuse for complete absorption in mundane things. Such attractions, either artistic or topical, may be perfectly legitimate as occasional efforts to disarm prejudice, especially the prejudice of those who never enter a place of worship at all; but they are out of place if they are used as an excuse for mutilating the regular services, and if the aims of worship and edification are allowed to drop into the background. That which appeals to a particular age only concerns at most the form of presentation; the substance of the message with which we are charged is for all men everywhere. The Prayer Book system provides a regular round of

devotion for those who are trying to make progress in the service of God; it affords a regular course of teaching on the fundamentals of Christian belief and practice; it is the business of the clergy to try and render this service so that those whom they can influence shall try to model themselves, their thoughts and habits on that which is commended by such long experience. There is a danger lest what is meant to be attractive should prove to be only fantastic, and should alienate any from the devout and regular use of that which the Church provides. It is our mission to strive to awaken and maintain the religious spirit —the sense of the nearness of the Eternal God, and of human duty to Him—and we must beware lest we allow ourselves to become contented with any lower aim.

III.

Equally plausible and equally dangerous are the suggestions of those, who insist that Churchmen must learn to adopt modern political tactics. Some of those who resent attacks on Church property or prestige are prepared to advocate the most effective means of repelling them, without sufficiently considering whether they are means which we can honourably employ. It is commonly believed that there are politicians who are not very careful about the means they use so long as they attain a given end; but those who aim at maintaining Christ's cause in the world dare not do evil that good may

come. They must be scrupulous about employing any weapon of political warfare, however effective it promises to be, unless they feel clear that it is honest and public spirited. Eminent men in Church and State seem to take a different view of what is allowable in the advocacy of our cause and urge that "we should be mad to overlook the material influence that Passive Resistance has had in framing the present Bill, and the weight that is attached to the fear of Roman Catholic Resistance, if clause 4 is not moulded to their liking. We must not let it be thought that Churchmen are less zealous for their religious opinions than Nonconformists or Roman Catholics, or that, if illegal action is to be tolerated in others, they will shrink from availing themselves of so powerful a weapon[1]." A somewhat similar view has been expressed with regard to the Bill which is now before the House of Commons. "Strong and insistent as I have been," says a letter to the *Birmingham Post*, "in counselling others not to resist the law, I confess that if this Bill itself became law, I should feel that it had by its sanction of passive resistance, gone far to justify me, from a legal point of view, in resisting payment for religious teaching which I do not feel to be adequate[2]." I do not quite understand the qualification about looking at the matter from a legal point of view; but I must confess that I read these opinions with profound regret, and that I fail to see that we should ever be justified

[1] *Guardian*, 20 June, 1906, p. 1036.

[2] *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 March, 1907, p. 7.

in attempting to maintain a cause which we believe to be sacred, by tactics of which we disapprove.

It may be admitted that Passive Resistance is more likely to prove an effective weapon than any other that is available. No plea seems to have greater influence on the public mind than that of the conscientious objector. To compel any citizen to do what is against his conscience, whether to have his children vaccinated or anything else, is generally regarded as tyrannous; only when he has a conscientious objection to procuring medical advice of any kind is he at all likely to find himself unsupported by a large measure of public opinion. Further, there are politicians who are much impressed by agitation of any kind; they are prepared to try and meet the views of those who clamour sufficiently loudly, but will take little pains to redress an injustice to which men submit; they are inclined to doubt whether it is a grievance at all. Passive Resistance on conscientious grounds, and the agitation to which it might give rise, are quite likely to be the only things that would make men believe that Churchmen have any real grievance, because of the defective religious teaching, which is maintained in many schools by the rates and taxes which they are compelled to pay. The success of an agitation of this sort has been demonstrated; and there undoubtedly is a temptation for Churchmen to retaliate, and use the same weapon in self-defence. There is some plausibility in urging that this course is expedient.

But for all that, we are bound to consider whether it is not an unworthy course for us to pursue; there

is a real danger lest the religious and conscientious objection should be after all a mere pretext, and not a genuine scruple. I have had to consider the matter as a practical thing for more than five and twenty years—long before the agitation was started against the Act of 1902. As an owner of some house property in Edinburgh, I have had to pay regularly for the maintenance of religious teaching of which I disapprove. In the schools of the Edinburgh School Board—maintained out of the rates—matters are so arranged that the children—with the exception of those who are withdrawn by their parents—are taught the Shorter Catechism framed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. To this I take exception less on theological or ecclesiastical grounds than as a matter of Christian morality. The question as to the right observance of Sunday is a difficult one; but it is a pity to teach children that they are bound by God's law to sanctify Sunday "by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days" and to spend "the whole time in the public and private exercises of God's worship except so much as is to be taken up in works of necessity and mercy." I think it a pity to lay such a heavy burden on the consciences of little children, even if it does no more than make them censorious critics of their neighbours. And the mark which Puritanism has left on this land has not been altogether wholesome; some at least of the common disregard of any religious observance of Sunday may be due to a reaction against such

exaggeration. Or, to take another point, it seems to me a pity to set the minds of little children working on the corruption of their whole nature "by original sin," or on "the signs of effectual calling." I do not approve of such teaching; I think that the exaggerations of extreme Calvinism are responsible for much of the antagonism to Christianity to-day, and it is a real grievance that I have been compelled to pay for such teaching for five and twenty years. The natural man resents such an exaction; but I have never felt that I was directly responsible, or that by paying the rate I was giving my sanction to what I disapprove; or that I was bound as a matter of conscience to refuse. To plead conscience would have been mere hypocrisy—the putting forward a religious pretext. My sense of civil justice was aggrieved, but not my sense of personal religious duty, since I had no real power of securing the introduction of instruction of a better type. I have never been willing to make my religion a pretext for obtaining the redress of a civic injustice.

Farther, resistance, even passive resistance, is very difficult to reconcile with any observance of the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate who is "ordained by God for the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them who do well." It surely may be a duty to submit to some injustice, rather than to set an example of defying constituted authority. Those who submit to injustice, to unjust exaction or unmerited punishment, are at least refraining from any action that weakens the hands of the government,

or loosens the bonds of society. At a time when there is so little discipline of any kind, so much desire to treat individual interests as supreme, so little readiness to undertake any sacrifice for the public good, it would indeed be a misfortune if their religion were put forward by Churchmen as an excuse for the non-legal or illegal assertion of personal interests. For it must be remembered that it is the deliberate aim of Passive Resistance to paralyse the action of some department of state; and its tendency is to bring the law of the land into contempt. Respect for the Common Will and Self-restraint are necessary to the maintenance of social order; the determination to harass the administration, so that the individual may have his own way, is obviously consistent with the principles of an avowed anarchist, but no citizen can have the right to be an anarchist in practice.

It is indeed a serious thing when Christianity and the Civil Government of a country find themselves in open opposition. The great Latin Communion is suffering, not only throughout Europe, but in America from its conflict with national aspirations and democratic ideals. Puritanism created a Military Despotism in Great Britain and a Theocratic Oligarchy in New England but it never seems to have set itself to foster law-abiding citizenship; it has urged men to claim their civic rights, but does not seem to help any one to bring religious sanctions to bear on doing his duty as a subject in that state of life to which God shall call him. The Anglican

Communion has a unique character from the persistent effort that has been made during the last three centuries to solve the difficulty at once of rendering that which is Caesar's to Caesar and that which is God's to God. The experience has been accumulated under different conditions. Her members have enjoyed the advantages of establishment by the State in England, they have known something of persecution in Scotland; new dioceses have been founded in democratic colonies or in heathen lands, in all parts of the world; but at all times and in all places her influence has ever tended to make men good subjects, living peaceably and honestly under the government, whatever it might be; while she has given a religious inspiration to patriotic aims and the sense of national destiny. It would indeed be a grievous pity if under any temptation, however strong, from a mere regard to the exigencies of political tactics, any of her clergy and laity should now fail to be true to the noble tradition which has been handed down from the past, of rendering civil obedience, as a duty to God Himself.

X

SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SCOTCH AND ENGLISH CHRISTIANITY[1]

Owing to the magnitude of the property at stake, and the apparent absurdity of the results which have followed from the decision of the House of Lords, the ecclesiastical crisis in Scotland has aroused widespread popular interest. There is another aspect, however, in which it deserves careful consideration; the whole incident serves to bring into clear light the fundamental differences between Scotch and English Christianity. Though the two kingdoms have been under one Crown for three centuries, and represented in the same Parliament for two, there has been very little assimilation of the one to the other. Each country preserves its own traditions

[1] A paper read before the Cambridge Ruridecanal Chapter, December, 1904, and published in the *National Review*, Vol. xlv. p. 679.

and patriotic sentiments. The distinct types of ecclesiastical polity which prevail in the two kingdoms are the most obvious badges of difference; and the spirit and influence of their respective religious institutions has had a considerable part in perpetuating the distinctive character of each people.

I.

The line of cleavage between English and Scotch Christianity may be seen very clearly if we go back to the Reformation era. In England there was, as is commonly said, a conscious effort to maintain the old tradition of ecclesiastical organisation, faith, and worship as it existed in the first six centuries, but without the excrescences that had been superinduced in the Middle Ages. The whole episcopal system, with the three orders of ministers, was accepted as of universal tradition[1]. The modifications of the services took place after a careful comparison of the liturgical tradition of the Greek Church with the usages of the West. The dominance of tradition is felt in every part of the Anglican system. So far as each minister is concerned, it is imposed upon him as a solemn trust at his ordination to the priesthood, "to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ...as this Church and Realm has received the same."

This whole conception of a living tradition and a personal trust was entirely absent from the Scottish

[1] Preface to the Ordinal.

Reformation. The old order lasted later than in England. 1536 and 1549 are landmarks in the story of the change in the English Church; but in Scotland the great severance from Rome did not occur till 1560; and 1581 was the era when the new system was organised. Knox desired to effect an absolute breach with the old order both as regards ecclesiastical organisation and public worship. In the latter department his work was constructive, for he had compiled a *Book of Common Order* at Frankfort, which was accepted by those who rallied round him when he returned to Scotland. In other respects, the ecclesiastical movement, under his leadership, hardly advanced beyond the destructive stage. The organisation of the Kirk, from 1560–1581, was tentative; each of the congregations was a separate unit, but they were directed and visited by one of the superintendents[1] to whom the charge of the ten separate dioceses into which Scotland was re-divided[2] was assigned. These superintendents had administrative functions which were analogous to those of bishops; but the breach with the past was complete. It was accentuated by the ruin which overtook the fabric of the old churches, and by the language in which Knox habitually contrasted the Church of God with the Synagogue of Satan. This was not a mere exaggerated expression thrown out in a moment of

[1] *First Book of Discipline*, c. VI. i. in Dunlop II. 539; also *Forme and Ordour for the Election and Admission of Superintendents*, *ib.* 623.

[2] *First Book of Discipline*, VI. ii., Dunlop II. 540.

excitement; it represents the attitude which was formally adopted by the authorities and people of the realm. The sentiment is forcibly put in a document which was subscribed by the king and large numbers of the public during the ecclesiastical revival of 1581; but it may suffice to quote the more concise expressions of the *Second Book of Discipline*: "All the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of Anti-Christ, and in his usurped hierarchy...together with the offices dependent thereupon...ought to be rejected[1]." The antagonism of Melville to the old order was as strong as that of Knox; they both desired that all merely traditional elements should be consciously swept away, and Scottish Christianity should be reconstructed on the lines which appeared to be laid down in Scripture, as the supreme and sufficient guide which God had given to man.

II.

It was under the influence of Andrew Melville that the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland took the form in which it has obtained such a firm hold upon the affections of the people. In order to understand the significance of the changes which occurred in 1581, it is necessary to remember that the constitutional life of Scotland was much less developed than that of England. The representative system was very imperfectly organised, and the people had not much

1 *Second Book of Discipline*, c. 2.

confidence in Parliament as a body that could be counted upon to give effect to their views. The popular enthusiasm for a new order in Church and State found expression in democratic ecclesiastical institutions. Presbyteries were formed; they consisted of the minister and one elder from each congregation in an area that approximately corresponded to a rural deanery. Andrew Melville, who had resided much in France and had lectured on jurisprudence in the University of Paris, was the guiding spirit who laid down principles which guarded against any encroachment by the civil magistrate on ecclesiastical power. The new organisation corresponded very closely to that which had been working in France since 1559. The terms "moderator" and "overture" are suggestive of the original on which the Scotch General Assembly was modelled. This scheme of organisation could be defended as thoroughly scriptural, and it helped to solve some of the most pressing difficulties of the day. It afforded the means of giving the great proprietors a status in the ecclesiastical system, and of putting pressure on them to co-operate with the clergy for the religious welfare of the community. The principle of the whole institution was democratic; but in this democracy, each member was charged with the definite responsibility of helping to rule the Church of God according to the Divine Will as declared in the Bible. There was no pretence that difference in tastes or interests ought to be represented. The presbyters were not mere repre-

sentatives but responsible rulers, bound to give effect to God's will in His Church and Realm. The democratic character of the system is shown, not only in the government by assemblies, but in the importance which has been attached to the right of the congregation to choose their own minister. The new institution was alien in spirit and character from the ecclesiastical order which it superseded; a complete breach had been made with the past, and a democratic theocracy had come into being.

While Anglican controversialists were endeavouring to prove that the Reformed Church of England was true to the primitive traditions of Christianity, the Scotch presbyterians were eager to claim complete freedom for a democratic Church, reconstituted on a scriptural basis. "The power and policy of the Kirk should lean upon the Word of God immediately, as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure Fountains of the Scriptures[1]." Those who discharged "spiritual functions amongst them that profess the truth" had been forced to exercise their powers in the contest with Popery; they were not inclined to interpret their privileges in a limited sense, or to restrict the liberty of any ministers and elders who should succeed them. The official declarations of the early part of the seventeenth century imply the freedom of each generation to live and worship according to the light which God might vouchsafe them through the pages of His Word. The preamble to the Act of 1638 sets forth "That

[1] Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II. 761.

so many as have erred before, not knowing the order and constitutions of this Kirk, will, as obedient children to their mother, speaking plainly and powerfully of old, and now after long silence opening her mouth again, and uttering her mind in a free assembly, hear her voice, and with that reverence that beseemeth under the supreme majesty of Christ, obey her directions." The Barrier Act of August 30, 1639, by laying down the manner in which proposed innovations must be discussed, implies a right to make changes, though it seems to have been chiefly intended as a constitutional obstacle to the action of those who might attempt to force changes on the Church from without.

During the political struggles of the early part of the seventeenth century the difference in the character and influence of the religious institutions in the two countries comes out very clearly. The contrast of devout enthusiasm is pictured for us in the household of Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding on the one hand as compared with the solemn subscribing of the National Covenant in Greyfriars Church Yard. The Anglicans had a strong sense of a living Christian consciousness, manifesting itself in various forms and methods since Apostolic times, but still preserving the same type of faith and organisation and worship. This Catholic doctrine and practice were commended and guaranteed for the subjects by royal acceptance. The principal aim of the Anglican, in this view, was to be true to this tradition in all its details. It was his duty to habituate himself to the daily round of

service appointed for the Christian year, so that his own habits of thought and practice might conform to the religious life set forth in the ordinances of the Church. As a minister he would desire to exercise his office as a sacred trust committed to him. The presbyters[1] of the Scottish Church claimed complete independence alike from the trammels of the past and from civic authority in the present. In their assemblies the Scotch presbyters claimed to be superior to any earthly authority, and in each congregation the preacher was expected to be a spiritual force, not merely by executing the duties of a spiritual office, but from his personal spiritual gifts. There was an approximation to the prophetic claims in his manner of conducting the public services. Dr Lee maintains that "individual liberty has had, and now has very ample scope in the Church of Scotland in this regard, and that a boundless variety is the only tradition in connection with our worship that we can appeal to. This liberty has been claimed and insisted on by our clergy during two centuries at least. Indeed, it belongs to the genius of Presbyterianism, and has always distinguished it. And accordingly it was that feature of the system with which the episcopal party in Scotland always found most fault, and which they were most desirous to reform[2]."

[1] The Anglican clergy are sometimes mistakenly accused of arrogating the term Church to themselves to the exclusion of lay-members; this practice was, however, explicitly adopted by Andrew Melville.

[2] *Reform of the Church of Scotland*, 16.

III.

In spite of this claim to complete spiritual independence there were political changes in the seventeenth century which profoundly modified the character of Scottish religious institutions. An opportunity arose for attempting to impose Presbyterianism as a form of ecclesiastical government upon the Church of England; and in the effort, the whole system came to be much more elaborately defined, and more stereotyped than had previously been the case. Again, at the time of the Revolution, the Whigs were forced to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, and the system, as it had been defined at Westminster, was reintroduced into Scotland by civil authority and Acts of Parliament. The character of Presbyterianism as by law established at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was so different from what it had been at the beginning of the seventeenth, that the more enthusiastic spirits refused to recognise the established ministers as the genuine representatives of the Church of Scotland, and organised themselves as an independent body which maintained the position of the Covenanters.

Such are the main outlines; but it is worth while to enter into some few details in regard to these important changes. During the reigns of James I and Charles I, the upholders of Presbyterianism had been on the defensive against royal attempts to

intrude episcopal government and a Book of Common Prayer into Scotland, with the view of establishing ecclesiastical uniformity throughout both the kingdoms. The fall of Charles I, to which the Scotch had contributed in so many ways, gave them an opportunity of completely turning the tables, and endeavouring to secure ecclesiastical uniformity throughout Great Britain, but on Presbyterian lines. Many influences were at work which favoured this attempt. It was generally agreed that some form of Christianity should be established by the State. Episcopacy was discredited from its close association with the royalist cause; the other parties were so much broken up that the Presbyterians were sanguine of prevailing. Parliament was committed to the project, and they could count on a large amount of support in the city of London and in Lancashire. With the object of bringing the whole of the two kingdoms into line, it became necessary to mark out and formulate the doctrine and the worship of Presbyterianism with much greater precision than before. This was the task of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which met in 1643. The chief monument of their labours was the Confession of Faith, which was compiled to be the standard of Presbyterian orthodoxy, in an age when the variety of strange opinions and of new sects was a cause of scandal. The needs of the time, and the object with which it was compiled, gave this Westminster Confession an entirely different character from the authoritative expositions of Presbyterian doctrine

which had hitherto satisfied Scotchmen. The original model merely consisted of a commentary on the various articles of the Apostles' Creed taken in turn; this document had been drawn up in 1550, to be used in the English church at Geneva, and under Knox's influence it was received and approved by the Church of Scotland in the beginning of the Reformation[1]. In the year 1560 the Confession was entirely recast and somewhat elaborated, and in this new form was ratified and approved by the Estates of the Realm of Scotland, "as wholesome and sound doctrine grounded upon the infallible truth of God's word[2]." The reason for this step was officially stated; it was published "by the estaitis of scotland, with the Inhabitantis of the samyn professing Christ Jesus his holy evangell to their naturall countrey men, and to all utheris Realmes and Natiounis professing the samyn Christ Jesus," as a justification of their proceedings. "Lang have we thristit, deir brethren," they say, "to have notifeit unto the warld the soume of that doctrine quhilk we professe and for the quhilk we have sustenit infamy and dainger. Bot sick hes bene the rage of Sathan against ws and against Christ Jesus his eternall veritie laitlie borne amangst ws that to this day na tyme hes bene grantit unto us to cleir oure consciences[3]." The leaders in the Westminster Assembly had entirely different objects; they did not desire to frame a public manifesto—

[1] Dunlop, *Collection of Confessions*, II. 3.
[2] *Acta Parl.*, Aug. 17, 1560, Dunlop II. 13. [3] *Ib.*

that was provided by the Covenant—but a Code[1] by means of which disorders within the Church, and the vagaries of teaching which abounded, might be set at rest. The Westminster Confession of Faith was completely recast, and bears an entirely different character from the formula which had been framed by Knox; it begins, not with belief in God, but with belief in Holy Scripture as the basis of the Christian religion, and it elaborates the exposition of the duty of the civil magistrate towards the Church. At the same time, a *Directory* for public worship was put forth; in the circumstances of their time the chief need was to check individual eccentricity, and the divines do not seem to have contemplated the possibility of any development of doctrine, or of any occasion for recasting the model which they had been at such pains to devise. Their formularies, as compared with those of the Reformation era in Scotland, leave less room for the prophetic gifts of the minister, and do not seem to contemplate the possibility of change on the part of the Church as a whole.

In this way the attempt to impose Presbyterianism on England had led to the whole being cast in a much more rigid form; but the circumstances under which Presbyterianism was enabled to reassert itself in Scotland in 1690 were also very significant; there was no spontaneous enthusiasm on the part of the people throughout the country, such as had been aroused by Knox and Melville, and again in 1638; Presbyterianism was reconstituted

[1] E. Irving, *Confessions of Faith*, CLII.

by civil authority and from the seat of Government. During the Restoration period, the Church of Scotland had been very successfully episcopalised, though a body of eager and much persecuted enthusiasts in the south-west still maintained the principles of the Covenant. When the Revolution settlement was being planned, ecclesiastical affairs presented very great difficulty. Episcopal government would probably have been retained as the form of government in both countries, but so many of the Scotch clergy were Jacobites, or, at any rate, non-jurors, that the new Government could not trust them. It seemed politic, in consequence, to revert to Presbyterianism. The Scotch Parliament recognised as the National Church of Scotland those who held to the faith and practice formulated by the Westminster Assembly. "The Confession underwritten was this day produced, read, and considered, word by word, in presence of their Majesties' High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament, and being voted and approven, was ordained to be recorded in the books of Parliament." In this way the rule of faith and worship which had been laid down by English Presbyterians at Westminster came to be accepted both by State and Church for Scotland, in place of the less explicit formulæ which had been approved by Knox and Melville. So far as the conduct of public worship went, the *Directory* was probably regarded as an example to guide the minister, rather than as a book to be habitually used. It soon fell into desuetude, but no such laxity was allowed in

regard to the acceptance of the Confession of Faith. An Act of 1693 insists that

> no person shall be admitted or continued for hereafter to be a minister or preacher within the Church, unless he... subscribe the Confession of Faith ratified in the 5th Act of the Second Session of this Parliament, declaring the same to be the Confession of his faith, and that he owns the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which he will constantly adhere to, as likewise that he owns and acknowledges Presbyterian Church Government to be the only government of this Church[1].

The General Assembly subsequently endorsed this rule as to the terms of subscription[2]; and the National Church of Scotland was constituted in a clearly defined position, and entered on a period of uneventful history which lasted for nearly a hundred and fifty years.

IV.

The last sixty or seventy years of Scottish ecclesiastical history has been marked by a succession of incidents which have each in turn roused considerable excitement. Unlike as these agitations have been in many respects, they have yet had this feature in common, that they each originated among men who were dissatisfied with the Anglicised Presbyterianism which had been imposed on Scotland by parliamentary authority in 1690, and desired to revert to the Scotch Presbyterianism which flourished

[1] Scotch Acts, 1693, c. 38.
[2] Acts of Assembly, 1760, c. 11.

in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, when it was less stereotyped and more of a living power.

1. The earliest of these movements was the most startling ;- Edward Irving, the minister of the Scotch Church in Regent Square, took an entirely different view in regard to the Scriptural teaching on Church government from that which had been dominant in Scotland since the time of Andrew Melville, and which had been accepted by the Westminster Assembly. He looked back to the time of John Knox and the superintendents.

> The way of a presbytery is worse than the way of a bishop or superintendent, inasmuch as it has drawn away from each church [*i.e.* each congregation] its independent and indefeasible completeness, and made the same to stand in a confederacy of some half a dozen or even score of churches, meeting once a month by delegation: which is a nonentity in the Scriptures, and a solecism in ecclesiastical polity, and not authorised by our Reformers, and hath crept into use by the spirit of formality....I look upon the presbytery as a body of commissioners holding the office of the apostleship or evangelist *in commendam*, until fit persons for taking it in charge be raised up by the Holy Spirit—a time which I believe to be near at hand[1].

Irving's mind was saturated with the study of the Book of Revelation, and he seems to have come to think that it gave more definite guidance in regard to Church organisation and worship than could be obtained from the scattered hints in the Acts and

[1] E. Irving, *The Confession of Faith*, CXLV.

the Epistles. The elaborate services of the Irvingites and their organisation under restored apostles, are so extraordinarily remote from normal Presbyterianism that it is not easy to see how the one could have possibly emanated from the other, until we recognise that the underlying principle of building the Church upon Scripture is the same, and that the claim to perfect spiritual freedom to create a new order is implied in both.

2. Another movement which attracted a good deal of attention some thirty years ago was much more sober than Irvingism; it emanated from and appealed to cultured persons, for it was the outcome of reflection rather than of enthusiasm; and the influence it has exercised, though gradual, has been very real. It was to some extent the counterpart of the æsthetic revival which followed the Oxford movement in England, since it aimed at brightening the services and decorating the churches in a manner that eighteenth-century Presbyterianism would have condemned. Dr Lee, the minister of Greyfriars, in Edinburgh, and those who co-operated with him, took their stand on the right of the minister to conduct the services in any manner that tended to edification. Strict compliance with the *Directory of Public Worship* had never been enforced; and these æsthetic reformers were, like Edward Irving, consciously desirous of going behind the dicta of the Westminster Assembly. Intellectually, this was a Broad Church or liberalising movement, which was inclined to minimise the requisite compliance with

the Westminster standards of doctrine, as well as with the *Directory*. The introduction of a service book, in imitation of John Knox's *Book of Common Order*, as well as of choirs, instrumental music, and stained glass, was carried through by the group of men who contributed to a volume of *Scotch Sermons* which was published in 1870, and this marks a considerable departure from the doctrines of the *Confession of Faith* as commonly understood.

3. In the excitement it caused, and the magnitude of the results which followed from it, the disruption of the Scottish Church, with the founding of the Free Church in 1843, stands by itself; but it too was in principle a reaction to sixteenth-century Presbyterianism. Chalmers and the leaders of the Disruption movement did not look so much to John Knox—with his superintendents and *Book of Common Order*—as to Andrew Melville and the principles of spiritual independence from civic authority which he advocated. They did not take exception to the work of the Westminster Assembly at all, but they revolted against the substantial voice in Church matters which the State had obtained in consequence of the initiative it had taken in the reconstitution of Presbyterianism in 1690. This new movement was a reassertion of the democratic ideals of the earlier Presbyterians, especially in connection with the right of the congregation to choose their own minister. The leaders protested against the action of the State in upholding the rights of patrons; they looked back to the heroic days of Presbyterianism as a Theocratic Democracy.

They were eager to maintain their claim to be the genuine representatives of the Church of Scotland, and repudiated the idea that they were seceding or causing a schism. They were anxious to preserve what they regarded as the genuine Presbyterian tradition, and were unaffected by the liberalising tendency which found expression in other quarters. They were disinclined to tamper in any way with the Confession of Faith, or to give in either to an æsthetic or latitudinarian spirit. The Free Church was the outcome of a movement which was at once a democratic and conservative reaction. So marked was this characteristic that the first important step that was taken after 1843 was the union of the Covenanters with the Free Church. The minority, who had kept aloof from the establishment since the Revolution, were known as Reformed Presbyterians; they now accepted the Free Church as a genuine representative of the old stock; they had always maintained the duty of the civil magistrate to support religion, but they had never seen their way to take the oath of allegiance to an uncovenanted king. This remnant had persistently protested against the character of the Government, as the Free Church had come to do against its action; they thus found common ground, and their union in 1876 was the high-water mark of the reaction towards the Scotch Presbyterianism of the seventeenth century.

V.

The critics of the Union of 1900 between the majority of the Free Church and the United Presbyterians—a body consisting of two groups of seceders from the National Church in the eighteenth century—have declared that it was a political rather than a religious movement. The suspicion is worth noting, because it raises the question as to how far the decisions of ecclesiastical bodies on such matters, even when independent of State interference, are really independent of political considerations. There certainly was a considerable change of feeling within the Free Church; the Disruption fathers held that their Church—with all its claims for independence from civil control—ought to be established by the State. Dr Rainy and his followers had come to hold that under present circumstances no Church should be established at all. They had thus come practically into line with the United Presbyterians, who as "voluntaries" disapproved of the connection between Church and State; a union of the non-established Presbyterians would, as it seemed, give them stronger ground for attacking the position of the Established Church. The first steps in this direction were taken in 1863[1], but after ten years the project had to be abandoned for a time; and the Union was eventually accomplished after a good deal of friction[2], and a

[1] J. Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, II. 546.

[2] Dr Rainy has let it be clearly understood, however, that no terror of litigation will prevent the Union from being consum-

certain amount of compromise as to matters which were to be treated as open questions. The small minority, who held out against this Union, and who were in danger of being deprived of their livings on account of their recalcitrancy, have now been declared by the House of Lords to have been within their rights, and have obtained a decision which entitles them to all the property which the Free Church had accumulated before this recent Union. The *Scotsman* summed up the situation with unsympathetic acuteness. "For five and twenty years Dr Rainy has been trying to disestablish another Church; he has only succeeded in disendowing his own." We are not concerned at the moment with the possible motives which influenced the Union, but only with the light which the incident throws on the differences of religious and ecclesiastical sentiment in England and in Scotland. This is a point of considerable importance; a great deal of the bitterness which has arisen in Scotland has been due to the feeling that English judges cannot be expected to appreciate the position as it appears to Scotch eyes. This view, which has served to give a considerable impulse to the agitation for Scotch Home Rule, is, as I believe, well founded. The Scotch people generally, and the English judges, do not look at the matter in the same way.

The United Free Church can urge that, like

mated; and the speakers who seemed inclined to put stress upon this terror in the course of the Assembly debate were barely listened to. *Times*, June 14, 1900.

other nineteenth-century Scotch reformers, they are endeavouring to revert to the true type of Scotch Presbyterianism in its best days. The leaders of the United Free Church defended their action on the ground that they were simply exercising an inherent right on the part of the Church to revise its own formularies. Common sense may, of course, hold that the occasional exercise of such powers would be expedient, but the legal question as to whether any right to exercise such power exists as a matter of fact or not, is rather intricate. It seems to be the one on which the majority and minority of the House of Lords took different views: Lords Lindley and Macnaghten seem to have held that the Church of Scotland had this power in fact. The alleged right appears to be involved in some of the incidents of the seventeenth century, but it was hardly exercised, at any rate in the direction of giving less precision to the definitions of orthodox opinion. The question raised is not merely how much English ideas may have affected the minds of the judges now, but how far they influenced the character and institutions of the Scottish Church itself in the seventeenth century? The religious, rather than the legal, idea of a trust, and the duty of handing down a heritage of truth untampered with, had always been alien to the Scotch mind, but it had probably a firm hold on the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Their *Confession of Faith* did not take account of any possible need, or any method, of modification. It is at least a tenable view that the Scottish Church, by accept-

ing the Westminster Confession in 1648, and by the terms on which it was reconstructed in 1690, had adopted a definite position as final, and as one on which they would not go back. The English religious sentiment, both in the Interregnum and at the present day, fails to recognise the power of the Church to take a new departure—its independence from its own past—which was implied in the story of the Scotch Reformation. It seems to me possible, too, that the English habit of mind, in regard to legislation and the interpretation of legislation, is somewhat different from that which was customary in the Scotch Parliament; this was more concerned, not with settling every detail, but with laying down principles for administrative authorities to interpret; and the fact that the Westminster Confession appears in the Scotch statute-book has not the same significance that it would have as an English measure.

The power thus claimed on the part of the Church hardly came into discussion so far as the Wee Frees were concerned; but I think they would have insisted that it could be exercised within narrow limits, in the interpretation of Scripture. They have a deep underlying suspicion that the modifications of doctrine in the United Free Church have not been due to a serious effort to understand exactly what Scripture says and abide by it, but that they are really signs of a tendency to set Scripture aside. In the face of all the Old Testament stories of the relations of the spiritual and civil powers, they consider that, in leaving this an open question, there is

an implied doubt of the value of the Old Testament revelation as a guide for men to-day. They feel that, while the desire for change is avowedly an attack directed against the subordinate standards, it is really being made on the Bible itself, and that the foundations of their creed are in danger. They fear that the authority of Scripture is being undermined by such critics as the late Professor Robertson Smith. There can be no doubt that willingness to accept the new critical views is co-related with laxity in regard to the doctrines of the *Confession of Faith*, and this fact has been the foundation of the strong opposition to the Union on the part of the Wee Frees. Thus it is that the decision of the House of Lords has been the subject of regret in other quarters, as it appeared to mean the triumph of obscurantism.

The want of consonance between the critical movement and traditional orthodoxy is felt on all sides—in the Church of Rome and the Church of England, as well as in Scotland; but it is a practical difference between Anglican and Scotch Christianity that the difficulty is felt so much more acutely in the north. The Presbyterian has hitherto taken the Bible as the sole standard—the absolute statement of divine truth for man; while there are, at any rate, many in England who regard it as an invaluable record of Christian experience in the first ages of the Church, but not as being independent of all other lights on Christian faith and practice.

So, too, there is a difference as to the importance

to be attached to the individual judgment as capable of interpreting the Bible aright. Earnestly religious men, both English and Scotch, would agree in repudiating the Deistic opinion which was put forward by Locke, that human intelligence, brought to bear on the Bible, is quite capable of apprehending and appreciating the eternal truths it contains. Spiritual things, it would be urged, must be spiritually discerned, and Divine guidance is needed, if any mere man is to grasp truth about the Eternal and Unseen. So far all are agreed, but there is a difference according as it is held that this Divine guidance is personal to the individual, or given through the corporate consciousness of the Church. The former point of view seems to lead naturally to a negation of criticism. The individual can never presume to stand in any true sense above a Divine revelation, and therefore can never criticise it. But the corporate Christian consciousness has a right to criticise. The Church is older than the New Testament, and the classification of sacred books, as spurious, doubtful, and authentic, on which canonicity depends, was a decision taken by the Church. The living Christian consciousness has an abiding power of interpreting and criticising the writings which it was instrumental in selecting and preserving. The development not only of literary and scientific, but of theological, knowledge has been going on throughout all the ages; and by this corporate right the claim of the individual is conditioned. His personal apprehension and appreciation of the faith of the Church—the

fullest and most definite knowledge of God that has been attained by man—gives the basis from which any one has a right to criticise the earlier and less developed forms of belief in spiritual realities.

The differences between the national feeling and political traditions of Scotland and England are very marked; they are associated with and to some extent based upon differences in the religious sentiment in the two countries. It is not easy to get to the root of the matter, or to analyse the precise reason for the special traits which distinguish Scotch religious sentiment. I am inclined to trace its source to the seventh chapter of the first book of Calvin's *Institutes*, where the authority of a corporate consciousness is explicitly rejected. Divergence of doctrine as to the conditions of attaining to religious truth, and the means of appealing to it and applying it, will suffice to account for differences of opinion in regard to many matters of Church organisation, Christian worship, and Christian belief.

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